National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Pennsylvania Anti Slavery Society met in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, on Thursday, November 22, 1866, at 10 a. m.

Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the Hall was filled with an appreciative audience, a large proportion of whom were ladies.

Robert Purvis (Vice-President of the Society) called the meeting to order and said :

I am requested in the absence of our venerable and honored President, to call this meeting to order. But he is at this moment coming in ; and I will yield the chair to him.

Mr. James Mott (President of the Society) declined to take the chair, requesting Mr. Purvis to continue his remarks.

Mr. Purvis resumed : I congratulate you, my friends, upon the prospect before us. I am glad to see so many of the old veterans of our cause here this morning. Everything is tending to the consummation of our work. All the elements of our enlightened prayers, directed by the hand of God, indicate the triumph of our principles, and especially the grand idea of Republican government, determining the personal rights of every human being without regard to the color of the skin ; and may I be allowed to add, as I interpret our principles, without regard to sex ; the right of all to be under the protection of equal laws, and in the enjoyment of equal rights.

I congratulate you that there are so many of the early friends of our cause present this morning. I do not wish thereby to intimate any reflection upon those who, though not wearied in well doing, are yet engaged in other directions, and we believe are in a great error with regard to what has been so generally said, that our work is done. Those not connected with us, are very apt to say that slavery is abolished, that the work is done. We all know that the legal abolishment of slavery is a fact ; but it is not the practical truth. Our work, therefore, is not yet done.

In the absence of the Secretary, Mr. Edward M. Davis was appointed Secretary, *pro tem.*

On motion of Miss Mary Grew, the following Committee was appointed :

Business Committee—Edward M. Davis, Mary Grew, Robert Purvis, Lucretia Mott, Alfred H. Love.

On motion of Mr. E. M. Davis, the following Committees were appointed :

Committee on Nominations—William H. Johnson, Edward M. Davis, Sarah Pearce.

Committee on Finance—Mahlon P. Liuton, Agnes Crane, Mary Lightfoot.

On motion of Mr. Davis, ordered, that the meetings of the Society commence at 10 a. m. and at 3 p. m. to-day and to-morrow.

Mr. Davis explained that no evening sessions were proposed, in order that members might have an opportunity to attend the meeting of the Freedmen's Society to-night and the Anniversary of the Society to-morrow night.

Miss Grew read the following letter which had been received from Rev. Mr. Frothingham, in reply to an invitation to be present :

Dear Miss Grew : I have your note of yesterday ; I am truly sorry that it will be quite out of my power to come to Philadelphia this week. My engagements are more pressing than I anticipated, and as I must be absent in Boston next week, it is necessary that I should be on hand. My consolation in being absent will be that I miss a pleasure, not an opportunity. Such meetings as yours, important as they are, are not as momentous as they were in former days, and the number of the speakers is multiplied. Our work is not finished by any means. The black man is free, but the white man still wears the heavy chain of prejudice, ignorance, and stupidity. The war wrung from him the emancipation of the negro. What shall force him into the emancipation of himself? When will he begin to learn that justice and good will and equal liberties constitute the wisest policy of a nation like ours, whose law is liberty ? When will it be understood that under our institutions, and in the light of our ideas, human rights are not relative, but absolute ; not partial, but universal ; not of any single class or race, but of all races and classes ? When will it be understood that everybody must be kept down until everybody is lifted up ; that everybody must be in bondage until everybody is made free ; that freedom is a comprehensive thing, as necessary for the highest as for the lowest, and means liberty to bestow privileges as well as liberty to accept opportunity ? But all this we shall learn gradually under the teaching of Providence, which condescends to use human lips for the enunciation of its decrees, but which does not depend on them for its utterances. With most cordial wishes for the success of your gatherings,

I am, faithfully yours, O. B. Frothingham.

Edward M. Davis, on behalf of the Executive Committee, made a statement of the action of the Committee, in the course of which he read a letter from Gen. Fremont, promising if he lectured for any one to lecture for this Society ; and referred to receipts, in reply to circulars issued, among which was one from Abraham L. Pennock, enclosing a check for $20, and endorsing the sentiments upon the envelope, "The legally emancipated slave needs the ballot to secure his freedom." He also read the following letter :

Dear Friends : I wish I could be at your meeting this week for my own sake, to refresh my spirit in the waters of life that I know will well out there, freely and full as ever. In old times, before dear Thomas Whitson's translation, and while others were yet with you who have fought a good fight, I never missed the Philadelphia meeting if it was possible to be there, and never failed to feel that it was one of the most powerful *religious* meetings of the year, where I got the clearest sight of the truth, and the warmest heart toward it, and felt most like doing all things through the Christ which there strengthened me. And in this time, so different in some things to that, I know you will be the same, will be as true to the truth as ever, and as steady in your testimony against all the wrong still done by the nation to the man that has endured such unparalleled injustice at its hands and so nobly requited our evil with good. I would to God I could write *overcome* our evil with good. I am with you in the spirit. With all my heart I say also "that the legally emancipated slave needs the ballot to secure his freedom," and if I were with you in the body and you would let me speak, I would try to tell you that this ballot must be given not to the emancipated man alone but to the emancipated woman too. I am sincerly yours,

Robert Collyer.

To Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, E. M. Davis.

Chicago, November 19, 1866.

Mr. Bacon, Treasurer of the Society, presented the following report :

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in account with Benjamin C. Bacon, *Treasurer, pro tem.*

1866. Dr.

October 1st, To Office Agent,		$ 316 64
" Rent of Office,		90 00
" Annual Meeting Expenses,		74 75
" Sundries,		147 18
" Balance,		21 16
		$649 78
Cr.		
October 1st, 1865, By Balance,		24 89
" Donations,		447 50
" Annual Meeting		
" Collection,		177 34
		$649 78

Mrs. Mott—I hardly feel satisfied with the statement of our friend, Edward M. Davis, of the action of the Executive Committee. We have all been surprised at the marvelous progress which has been made. We have witnessed the growth of the political parties in this country ; for I believe both parties have grown and are coming round right as regards according the right to the ballot to the freedman. But on the other hand we have watched the accounts that have been furnished—some in the daily papers, and some in letters and communications directly to us, and in personal visits, of the cruelty that has been practiced at the South ; and those accounts have come to us with the expressed desire that we should keep on and not resign our organization. They have told us that the time has not yet come, while the slave in so many instances is only nominally and legally free, while in fact the almost unlimited power of his oppressor continues ; and that in many parts of our Southland large numbers of families of slaves are still actually held in bondage, and their labor extorted from them by the lash, as formerly ; that while, so far as the law is concerned, they may no longer be publicly bought and sold, yet they have been actually sold and transferred from place to place.

All these facts show the necessity of our cause, and the continued existence of the Anti-Slavery Society, notwithstanding the legal abolition of the accursed system. All this has kept us on the watch, and has kept our interest alive in the great cause. Although there has not been much done in the way of public meetings, in sending forth agents and lecturers, we have not been idle. Early in the Summer we circulated some forty or fifty circulars to our friends. There must have been some irregularity in the mails—for we received fewer responses than usual ; but there are some of our friends here to whom we sent them, and we hope they will make amends for the shortcoming of the past.

I felt that it was due that we should say something more with regard to what had been done ; and I have therefere mentioned these facts to show the mighty work that is still before us, to secure manhood to the long bound and long enslaved. *From the time of the proclamation of emancipation* up to to-day, what a wonderful change has been wrought in the public mind ! The hearts of the benevolent, the good and the pure, not particularly of those who have been associated in our anti-slavery organization heretofore, but all over the country, young men and strong, young women and active, have been reached, and they have felt it their duty to consecrate themselves and their all, for the time being, to the education of those poor, wronged, stricken, needy slaves. They have gone these three or four years, again and again, returning during the unhealthy months, but, with scarcely an exception, returning to the work with willing hearts, with no disposition to relax their efforts, And the results of their labors have been cheering, in the readiness to learn which has been manifested. Last evening we had letters read in our Friend's Freedmens Association, from the pupils of those who had labored but a short time there, and who had therefore had but a few month's instruction ; and it was wonderful to see the progress they had made, not only in their handwriting, but in their composition.

But this is only one evidence of the great and marvellous uprising of this people. The political progress of the nation is wonderful. Even while we mourn that so much wrong yet exists, we are all astonished and wonder at the advance in our land so far above our most sanguine calculations ; for the most sanguine anticipations of the Abolitionists never reached what has been realized within a year or two. I want, therefore, in the beginning of our anti-slavery meeting, that we should be affected in our hearts so much as to offer the silent thanksgiving of praise to Him who is greater than we, whose power is mightier than all, in that so much has been effected through us more than we could hope for.

Mr. Davis—I feel as if I ought to apologize on behalf of the Executive Committee for our having done so little. While some of our friends said, We will spend our money and our influence in Freedmen's Associations, to do the work of educating the freedmen—thinking that that could secure his freedom, and have thus withdrawn from direct co-operation with us—I have said, No ; we will not pull down our flag yet ; our work is not done until the freedom of the slave is secured. We adopted the idea first promulgated by Wendell Phillips, that not only the surest way of securing his freedom, but of educating him, was to give him the ballot, we felt that we ought to keep up our agitation, and still hold up our flag for all to see ; though we are but few—though there are but few who gather around us and sympathize with us, while the many are throwing their influence into the hands of the Freedmen's associations.

We are not antagonistic to the Freedmen's associations, although we occupy a different position. They say that slavery is abolished, and that the work of the nation to-day is to educate the freedman. We say, on the other hand, that slavery, though legally abolished, actually continues. The spirit of slavery still exists. The people of the South would to-day, if they had the power, re-enslave these people. We want to make their liberty secure by giving them the ballot ; for the protection of the ballot is better than that of the bullet, to them. We say that we shall accomplish the very object the Freedmen's Association have in view, by giving the ballot ; because it takes very little intellect to see that the moment any class of people is allowed the ballot, it becomes the interest of everybody to have that class of people educated so that they may use it properly. Our friends wish to educate the freedmen. We think it is better to educate the whole nation, and that we shall educate the freedmen by educating the nation. We think it is as necessary to lift up the oppressor as the oppressed ; for if we raise the oppressor, the oppressed will lift themselves.

We have held but few meetings as an organization ; but there are members of the Committee who have not been idle. You know perfectly well how many meetings have been held within the last twelve months by Lucretia Mott. You know what has been done by other members of the Committee. Although they have had active duties to perform in other directions, they have been steadfast and faithful, unwavering and enduring. I do not speak for myself, but for the Committee, as a Committee. I have been all the time at work—how efficiently I do not know. I hope that we shall not need to apologize to this Society. Indeed they ought to apologize to us for having given us so little means.

The Chairman (Mr. Purvis) suggested that it must not be forgotten that this Society is but a branch of the great national society. Therefore we are not holding up, but merely aiding to hold up the flagstaff of our cause. And the work that we have done is but a small part of the work done in the cause.

Mr. Davis then read the following :

Detroit, Michigan, November, 1866.

Dear Sir : Enclosed is a petition to Congress for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, drawn up to meet the earnest wishes of many loyal people, who feel it unsafe to trust power in the hands of a man whose lawlesss usurpations may peril at any hour the safety and peace of the Republic.

It is hoped you will use diligence in getting signers to the petition, and having it sent at an early day to your loyal members of Congress, or to such member as will faithfully present it to the House.

Yours, E. B. Ward, and others.

[The petition referred to was published in The Standard last week.]

Mr. Davis made an appeal for funds with which to enable the Society to continue its labors ; and also a statement with regard to the speakers for the meeting of to-morrow evening.

Miss Grew said—During the year since our last Annual Meeting we have circulated about 3,000 sets of petitions. They were sent to every post-office in Pennsylvania, to about one-half the post-offices in New Jersey, and into two counties in Delaware. A good deal of time and labor were expended in sending out these petitions. How numerously they were signed we cannot accurately report ; but our Secretary states that as far as heard from there is good reason for supposing that they have been largely signed. I know that many of them have obtained signatures. What influence they will exert on Congress we cannot foresee, any more than at any other point of our enterprise, excepting that of late years petitions have been received by Congress with more respect and attention than heretofore.

To circulate petitions, was considered, in the early days of our movement, one of our most important works. The plan of sending petitions to post-masters was early adopted. At first, the post-masters used to give them to some prominent man in the place, and send them back to the Anti-Slavery office, or to Congress, well filled. But after a while, when the Anti-Slavery cause grew into greater importance, and had become hated by the nation—when the post-masters learned what the work was, and in whose pay they were, they ceased to do this, and a great many of the petitions were returned with insulting messages. The consequence was, that many of our Societies stopped sending the petitions to the post-offices. Then, for a long time, we were in the practice of circulating them in the cities and to such persons as we knew, and many of them would be filled and sent back to us. A good deal of our work this last year has been in circulating petitions, and we trust that it has had a good effect upon public sentiment.

Mr. Joshua Hutchinson sang "There is Work for You to Do," in a style reminding one of the Anti-Slavery songs of the Hutchinson family twenty years ago, receiving at its conclusion the thanks of the audience through the Chairman.

Miss Grew read the following resolutions, stating that the Committee would report the complete series of resolutions this afternoon :

Resolved, That the legally emancipated slave needs the right of suffrage to complete and secure his personal freedom ; that without it the constitutional declaration of his freedom, and carefully framed laws for his protection, will be powerless to defend him ; and, therefore, as his representatives and advocates before the nation, we claim for them that badge and shield of an American freeman—*the ballot.*

Resolved, That the adoption of any plan of reconstruction which leaves the regulations of suffrage in the hands of the Southern States will prove fatal to the colored man's freedom and the nations safety, and that we therefore demand that the negro's right to the ballot shall be protected by constitutional provision.

Mr. E. M. Paxton said—The meeting on this occasion, my friends, has caused my mind to go back a few years, to an assemblage like this for the purpose of presenting the thought of human freedom to what is now the emancipated slave. It seems as if the mind could hardly keep pace with the rapid progress of human thought, in regard to human freedom, within the last few years. A little over a quarter of a century ago, I patrolled the streets of the town in which I live, all night long, to keep the masses from burning to the ground the church in which a few that are around me to-day uttered the sentiment of human freedom—a house dedicated to the promulgation of the religious principles held by professing Christians throughout this and other nations. It was but a few short years ago that there came a rapping upon the door, in the town in which I live, to give notice that if certain individuals were not expelled from the house immediately, the house would be consumed over our heads. Where are those individuals to-day, and in what estimate does the nation hold them ? Visiting the city of Boston a few days ago, I went out to Roxbury, where the pioneer of our cause now lives. I found him there, seated, as it were, in the clouds, upon a rocky cliff, emblematic of the position he occupied so long. When I asked if he was known there, they said : "The name of Garrison is known to everybody in this community." (Applause.) What a change has been wrought in those few years ; for he was one of the individuals in that house when the raps came on the door warning us that it would be consumed over our heads if he were not expelled from it. To-day he is the adopted son of Massachusetts ; to-day he is the representative man of this nation, and will yet be in the national halls as the representative man of the age. Already has he been selected, I may say, by Massachusetts for that purpose.

How the human thought has grown ; how the mind has been expanded ; and with that expansion how the shackles have fallen ! Again, how our halls are filled to-day with the masses of mankind, for the purpose of listening to the noblest, and truest, and broadest, and deepest thought that man to-day is able to utter ; for we can refer back to the time when we held opinions that were mere infantile expressions and emotions when compared with the thoughts and feelings which stir the breast to-day. Why is this so ? It is because we have expanded our comprehension. We have grown in our powers of conception as probably no other nation ever grew, and with a growth which probably no other nation will ever transcend.

It is only about five years ago that Gen. Sigel made his appeal to the Germans to come forward and defend this nation in her struggle for human freedom, and he said : "This is a struggle for the freedom of mankind the world over. America is the battle-ground thereof." Was not the sentiment true ? Has not the battle for human freedom been fought here, and fought nobly ? I have been told within the last few days, by some of the leaders of the party that now, as it were, is dead and buried, that they intended before a very long time to raise to the breeze the banner of universal freedom, not only to mankind, but to womankind also. They say, We will leap beyond the party that is now leading the nation, and will bear the banner higher and still higher for human freedom, until not only the physical shackles that have bound us, but the mental shackles also, shall fall from every limb.

Mr. Alfred H. Love said—The proposition comes to us to give the ballot to the freedmen. It appears to me that some years hence we shall look with some degree of scorn upon ourselves and the age in which we live, if life shall be vouchsafed to us to see the great future, that we should find it necessary deliberately to consider a question of this kind, whether the ballot shall be given to a portion of God's creatures who have proved themselves loyal to the country ; for you cannot find a single colored man that has been wanting in patriotism. For a moment to hesitate to give them the protection they need, is to hesitate to perform a duty resting upon every patriot, every Christian, and every lover of humanity. I do not know that I can state it in stronger language than when I say it is a duty. We ought never to hesitate about doing right. We know that upon the score of loyalty they are entitled to it, and so they are upon the score of education, or at least of ability to be educated, as has been shown by some of the remarks made here this morning. When Fuller, a slave in Maryland, was asked, after very little education, how many seconds a man had lived who was seventy years and some months old, he gave his reply in a minute and a half. When others who were around him making the calculation with a pencil, told him he had made a mistake, he calmly replied to them : "Did you count the leap years ?" "No," said they, and it put to the blush all their education. We have so many instances of their ability to learn, that it is not worth while to recount them. They have the ability to learn, or if you require another test, they have the loyalty, and the humanity—a love for master, a love for brother, a love for everything, and necessarily a deep-rooted love for the country in which they live.

If we are to talk about reconstruction, with a view to make a more perfect union—to give us more unity, which is the acme of union—let us cast aside this great paradox, and give these people their part in the organization of the nation. The ballot is the protection of the Union, and reconstruction ought to be upon the basis of justice and of equality.

We have recited over and over again the text, "Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free." There is one word in that mandate which has special significance at this time, and it is the word "every." "Break *every* yoke." We have broken the physical yoke, but there are other yokes to be broken. It has been our custom to look far off into the South to see what yokes were to be broken. We are now, in a measure, done with that, because the great bond of legal servitude has been broken. But there are other yokes to break, and they come nearer home. When we think of the ballot, we see there a right that must be granted to the freedman. We must break the yoke of prejudice and caste. Our hands are full of work, and we cannot stop where we are. Never had we so much to do in carrying out the injunction, "Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free," as now, in the year 1866. We have taken one step, and it has opened the way to many more. We are to give this portion of God's creation an opportunity to live. We must give them protection. What is protection without the privilege of voting ? Would you like to have the privilege of digesting without having the privilege to eat ? There are some who will say, We will eat for you, and you may do the digesting. So some will say to these people, We will protect you, but we will take away from you the privilege of protecting yourselves.

If we want the highest and best that we can attain, let us have as large a convocation of voters as possible, and as large a number to select from as possible. Whatever may be their color or sex, if they can bring us forward better representatives from their midst than we can find elsewhere, let us welcome them. If they can bring forward a more loyal man for the office of President, bring him forward and let us present him with our votes. We want the largest number to select from. We want the accumulated wisdom of the nation to be represented in the government. It is a pitiable condition that we are in to-day, in being excluded from calling to our aid the great mass of the people of one color, on one hand, and all of one sex upon the other. I think that the American people, when their eyes are open or their hearts beat right, will see not only the duty but the expediency of giving the ballot and the right to be voted for to the whole number of God's children.

Mrs. Lucretia Mott said—The last speech of our friend reminds me of another part of the duty of the Executive Committee that they have not been altogether unmindful of ; that is, in relation to the exclusion of the colored people from the horse cars of our city. That has often been with us a subject of reports and complaints, and individual efforts and appeals have been made to the directors of the companies ; and the work is still in progress. There has been scarcely a meeting of the Society when the subject has not been discussed, and one Standing Committee has reported from time to time the result of its labors with the conductors and with the officers, so far as they have had an opportunity to petition and to appeal to them, or rather, to remonstrate—for I think we ought always to remonstrate rather than petition. It is a shame to ask for a right. We ought to demand it. The hour has come to demand it now. In New York, within the past two weeks, have I gone back and forth in the horse cars, and scarcely a day that colored persons have not come in entirely upon an equality with the whites. There is as much crowding and pushing to make room for them as for the whites. But here, to our shame be it spoken, our respectable colored citizens are forbidden to take seats in the cars, while drunken white men may ride and roll over against us in those same cars. Only a few weeks ago, in one of our cars, a filthy, drunken man sat beside me, and leaned against me so as to produce considerable discomfort. When I left the car I said to the conductor that if he had been a black man, I suppose he would not have been allowed to ride. It is a shame that we should still be obliged to bring up this subject in Philadelphia.

Mr. Robert Purvis said—I thank Mrs. Mott for what she has said with regard to this matter, and I should like to be allowed just here to say a few words upon a mistake on the part of some of our friends in urging this matter of rights from which we are debarred. We are often unwittingly injured in our feelings by the mode that is adopted in asking for these rights. If I have learned anything in this Anti-Slavery movement, it is that we should not ask as a favor for that which belongs to us as a matter of right. But I find even among our most prominent men in this country, and those who have accomplished much for the cause of human freedom, the men by whom we are most injured. I must be allowed to give the names of some distinguished men, who are said to represent the interests and well-being of the colored race, to whom I refer. They are not of the early Abolitionists, but they fill the nation's eye at this present time. I speak of such men as—probably I might be ruled out at this particular time if I named Henry Ward Beecher,—but such men as Horace Greeley, Carl Schurz, and Robert Dale Owen. Whatever these men have done, and much they have, towards hastening the triumph of freedom in our land, yet I hold that these are the names most to be feared by the colored people of this country.

It is a terrible thing to live in the consciousness of your rights as a man, and not to enjoy them. It is hard to sneak out of your own existence, to get away from the feeling, that, being a man, you owe it to your own manhood, to Republican principles, and to God, to concede nothing to any other human being on account of the mere accident of complexion. (Applause.) Now, what do I arraign these leading and distinguished men in this nation for ? They concede everything that the infernalism of Democracy declares against the colored man, when they declare that so far as regards the colored race there are certain things which we, being true to the instincts of our nature, must forbid.

I have heard Carl Schurz, for instance,—and he but expresses what has been expressed by these other men, who in their turn but express the feelings of people who are making up the future character of this nation,—deliver a lecture in Washington, which he repeated as a lecture prepared and delivered in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Colored Men's Association here. After preferring the strong claims, not founded upon services which the colored people have rendered to the government in time of war or in time of peace, or upon the ground of educational advancement and refinement, but upon the higher ground of manhood—for I care not if anybody shall hold the impious sentiment that in the ordination of God, He has created a certain race to be inferior to another race ; it is enough for me to know that they are men (Applause.) After urging the recognition of the equal rights of the colored man upon the ground of humanity, Mr. Schurz said, "I am frequently met with this question : Would you permit your daughter to marry a negro." And he answered—it was somewhat of an evasion—"I would not permit my daughter to marry many a member of Congress, but still I would not want to deprive that member of Congress of his rights as a man." He might have ended there ; but what did he say parenthetically ? "I would have," said he, "very serious objections : I do object to any such occurrence."

My friends, Robert Dale Owen makes the same statement ; Henry Ward Beecher substantially the same. Horace Greeley declares openly that he does not like negroes. I hold that this is mean and gratuitous. I ask, in behalf of that race, no social favors. I demand simply rights. I throw it back with unutterable scorn, with feelings that I cannot express, into the faces of those who arrogate to themselves superiority founded upon the color of the reflective substance which paints the human skin, that the white race ought to bear as uncomplainingly the evil consequences of their fathers' shame and their fathers' disgrace, as we of our fathers' misfortune. I say they arrogate a superiority based upon an assumption, false and impious, that one man or one woman is to be regarded superior to another from the mere color of the skin. As the logical result and tendency of these principles, we shall see, as the great master mind enabled Desdemona to see the complexion of her husband in the character of the soul, and the mind.

But I did not expect to be betrayed into this amount of feeling or this strong expression. I wished only to say that I think some of our friends unwittingly injure us by their manner of asking for our rights. I hold to the oneness and indivisibility of the human family. Upon the question of rights, at least, there is but one race, and that is the human race.

Mr. Love—Unwittingly it certainly was that I made any such allusion in the argument that loyalty and education alone must be the tests of citizenship. I only touched the hem of the garment of the subject ; and had I reserved my remarks until after I had heard our eloquent friend, I might have told you, what I honestly believe, that we stand here to-day, as citizens of this country, holding that ballot in our hands, as slaveholders, to a certain degree. When it was my privilege some years ago to vote, I felt that I could no longer exercise a privilege which inured to me simply because of my complexion. We are declaring that slavery is abolished, and that America has a Republican government. Yet we put the vice upon the forehead and screw it tighter and tighter, and enslave the brain that makes the man. I consider it the most horrible position in which we can place a man, to proclaim freedom, and yet to enslave his intellect. I want to break that bond first and foremost. Now my friend, put me beside yourself.

After a song—"The Old Union Wagon"—sung by Messrs. Joshua Hutchinson and Mr. Kittredge, the Society adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock p.m.

Afternoon Session.

The Society met at 3 p.m., and was called to order by Mr. Purvis, the Vice-President, who presided during the session, at the request of the President, Mr. James Mott, who was present.

Messrs. Hutchinson and Kittredge, by request, sang "The Slave's Refrain," or "Down in the Lowlands."

Mr. Purvis said—I beg leave to say, by way of explanation of my remarks this morning upon the subject of prejudice against color and social intercourse, lest there should be misapprehension with regard to my views, that I quarrel with no man's prejudices. If it does anybody good to hate black people, let him hate them, and cherish such prejudices. All I ask is, Hands off ! Cease to deprive colored men of their rights. I ask no favors for colored men with regard to the matter of social intercourse. That is regulated by an inevitable law. I recollect that our friend Douglass said that he represented two races about equally, and the blood seemed to harmonize pretty well in him. Perhaps I might say that I represent half a dozen races, and I believe I have no more and no less, but just about as much human nature in me as other people.

Resolutions.

Miss Mary Grew, on behalf of the Committee, reported the following resolutions, the last of which was received with loud applause :

Resolved, That the legally emancipated slave needs the right of suffrage to complete and secure his personal freedom ; that without it the constitutional declaration of freedom and carefully-framed laws for his protection will be powerless to defend him, and, therefore, as his representatives and advocates before the nation, we claim for him that badge and shield of our American freemen—*the ballot.*

Resolved, That the adoption of any plan of reconstruction which leaves the regulation of suffrage in the hands of the Southern States, will prove fatal to the colored man's freedom and the nation's safety, and that we therefore demand that the negro's right to the ballot shall be protected by constitutional provisions.

Resolved, That the work of the Abolitionists will not be done until the spirit of slavery is so far exorcised from the nation that the colored man of the South can assert and maintain his actual freedom in the presence of that dominant class who, defeated on the battle-field, are now striving to win their cause by diplomacy, and to put the negro under their feet.

Resolved, That the citizens of Philadelphia, in the Church and out of it, furnish the lamentable evidence that they are not repentant for the national sin of oppression in the disgraceful fact that forbids our colored citizens to ride in our street cars, and allows them to be ejected with insult and violence.

Resolved, That we hold the churches of this city especially responsible for this meanness and wickedness, inasmuch as they set the example of such exclusion by establishing negro pews in their houses of worship, and inasmuch as their moral power is amply sufficient to open our cars to the colored man whenever they shall choose to exercise it in that direction.

Resolved, That as the Anti-Slavery Societies are the only organizations in this country which uncompromisingly demand suffrage for the negro, we earnestly recommend to all the friends and advocates of this claim to extend to these societies and their organ, the National Anti-Slavery Standard, their liberal support.

Resolved, That we hail with joy every triumph of freedom over slavery, of righteousness over injustice, and give hearty thanks for the moral growth of public sentiment touching the rights of the colored man. Encouraged and strengthened thereby, we will persevere in our labors until our work shall be accomplished and the slave fully transformed into a man.

Resolved, That in the name of four millions of betrayed and outraged black men, whose liberty he has sold ; in the name of a betrayed and insulted nation, whose laws he has violated, whose will he has defamed, whose fundamental principles he has assaulted, we demand the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

Speech of Giles B. Stebbins.

Mr. Giles B. Stebbins said—I am very glad to hear among the resolutions one touching the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. A gentleman in Detroit handed me a few days ago a petition which is being extensively circulated in the North-west. It was read this morning by Mr. Davis. It is a document very carefully drawn—I judge by an able lawyer. It seems hardly necessary to say anything to the people gathered here, for the whole country is now a great abolition debating school, discussing the means for the elevation and education of the free negro. And there are meetings to overflowing, prepared to urge the enfranchisement of the black man—making suffrage universal, so far as complexion is concerned. While out upon the Congressional campaign this Fall, in Western New York, I had just as much freedom to say what I pleased, wherever I went, as ever I had upon the anti-slavery platform. Sometimes the politicians would gather around me before I spoke, and caution me that certain matters must be handled somewhat tenderly, and suggest that the negro question was not a technical campaign question ; but when I reached the question of suffrage for the black, I generally brought down the house, and of course when the careful politicians saw that the people liked it, that ended the trouble. And so I found the public sentiment with us in the campaign in Michigan.

I cannot conceive of anything more ridiculous than the attitude of the city of Philadelphia touching the matter of riding in the street cars. If you go to Washington, you may see the colored people at any time riding in the cars, and I have seen them—I will not call them "copperheads," for my friend Pillsbury, who is getting to be a very smooth-mannered man, said at Albany the other day, that he did not want to call them copperheads any more—but I have seen copper-Johnson members of Congress sitting by the side of colored people in the cars, and never a frown disturbed their features. Why ? Because the equality of the black man in the cars there is an accomplished fact, and cannot be undone. The moment the thing is done here, past recall, it will end that trouble. So it will be when impartial suffrage shall prevail all over this country. The very men who now picture such horrors from allowing the black man to vote, will in six months go placidly and smilingly to the polls by his side and never dream of danger. If the colored men were allowed the right to vote in this city, there would not be a colored man excluded from the cars ten hours afterwards. The Democrats would be especially eager to abolish the restriction, in the hope of gaining their votes. In the city of Boston the black man votes, and he rides in the cars.

The suffrage must be extended to the colored man. He stands to-day in a most terrible attitude, defenceless, subject to the vile, murderous passions of the rebel-hearted Southerners. When 50,000 colored men bared their breasts for death by the side of the white soldiers, when so many of our soldiers escaping from rebel prison-hells were piloted to liberty and safety by black men and black women, it is marvelous that we should be so ungrateful as to leave them smitten down, prostrate, without the ballot, at the feet of their enemies. There is a saying that Republics are ungrateful, but it seems to me that history shows no parallel to ingratitude like this. It is too terrible, too henious to last long.

We are already in the first steps of the great transition. Congress has done something. The people have sent them back to do more, and I hope they understand it. I know some of them do. They feel their hands strengthened by the triumphant Republican majorities. Let the people hold them to their work. We cannot expect the stream to rise higher than the fountain. We cannot expect politicians at Washington to be zealous for universal suffrage until you enact universal suffrage at home. Let the ballot-box in Pennsylvania be open to the black man as well as the white man, and then your members of Congress will demand it there with new power. The six members of Congress from Iowa are radical and a unit on the suffrage qesution. They never waver. Why is this ? Iowa, on her own statute-books, makes no distinction of color whatever. I do not so much marvel at the backwardness of Congress upon this question of universal suffrage, when I see upon the statute-books of two-

thirds of the Northern States, that they refuse the ballot to the black man.

We are at the close of four years of war. In the South the rebels are safe. Every man who bathed his hand in the warm blood of your sons, and brothers, and fathers, and loved ones—every man who hates the Stars and Stripes, is safe to-day. The Federal government protects him. The public sentiment of the South protects him. But there is another class, the white men of the South who were loyal throughout this great struggle, faithful among the faithless found, who sometimes wore the Federal blue, and sometimes planted the Stars and Stripes beside their doors as emblems of their loyalty—these men are in peril because of their loyalty. Then there is another class who were always loyal and always faithful — no traitors among them—some of whom bared their bosoms in the battle-field, others nursed, and nurtured, and clothed, and cared for our soldiers escaping from tortures worse than those of the Spanish Inquisition in the Middle Ages. These men are not safe. They are robbed and outraged. The hire of their labor is taken from them. They have no public sentiment, no ballot, to protect them. It is a shame to our country to-day.

The coming six months will be full of the most important events. What is to be done in Washington this Winter? We can help to decide. What is to be done with Andrew Johnson? Is he fit to be President of the United States? Is he a man reverencing the law he has sworn to sustain, or is he a law-breaker? If he behaves well to-day, can we safely trust him to-morrow? Can he be trusted for the long interval from the Fourth of March next to the Fourth of December? These are questions Congress must decide, carefully, seriously, and earnestly. If they move at all, they must move with irresistible strength. If the safety of the country demands it, put this man aside and put another in his place.

I remember a little incident of Mr. Johnson's tour in the West, when he "swung round the circle," which did not happen to get into the newspapers. In the little village of Wayne, in Michigan, the cars did not stop; but some ten or twelve hundred people gathered together to see the train go by, and as the cars passed slowly along by the depot, Mr. Johnson stood on the rear platform of the rear car to see and be seen. The silence was unbroken, the feeling being one rather of curiosity than welcome, until after he had passed the depot, when an Irishman, perhaps some disaffected Fenian, shook his fist at Mr. Johnson and said: "Go to hell." That was the Irish way of putting it; but it was said by some that the Irishman had a fine sense of propriety, and seeing plainly that the President was tending that way, he sent him along.

The matter of impeachment and the matter of suffrage are before the people. Their verdict at the polls has been overwhelming; but if the black man could have voted, the verdict would have been fourfold more tremendous than it is to-day. Let us have the verdict of the people, of manhood and of womanhood. Let us trust to the instincts of human nature, trust to education, trust to the dictates of justice, and I have no doubt that this Republic will be the pioneer of all the nations of the earth in the future more than it has ever been in the past. (Applause.)

Mrs. MOTT—As our friend, Miss Anthony, has just attended the glorious Convention at Albany, it seems to me particularly fitting that we should hear from her, not only on account of the success of that Convention, but whatever other remarks she may have to make, particularly upon the subject of suffrage for the freedmen.

Miss SUSAN B. ANTHONY said—I did not come exactly by the telegraph wires, as our friend Davis suggested this morning; but I came by the telegraph lines, and I find that the wires have brought the news a little sooner than I could get here, for I find in the Philadelphia *Press* a report which does very full justice to the meeting. We had such a meeting at Albany as we never had before, either as Women's Rights or as Anti-Slavery women, in point of enthusiasm and every way. There was but one voice among us in regard to the question, that now is the hour, not only to demand suffrage for the negro, but for every other human being in the Republic. We felt for the first time in the Woman's Rights movement that we had actually the women with us. Mr. Greeley's everlasting answer to us for a number of years, has been that women will get the right to vote as soon as they ask it. I am sure the conclusion we reached at this meeting was, that the working women of the country are with us. Say to them that with the ballot in their hands they can secure equal pay for their work, and their demand for the ballot will be as strong as that of the black man to-day. But we also come to the conclusion that, whether the black man or whether women shall be intelligent enough to make the demand for themselves or not, it is the duty of every intelligent man who knows the value of the ballot by the position it brings to him, to make the demand for us. (Applause.)

Remarks of Wendell Phillips.

Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS said—Our Chairman, in the early part of the meeting, said that he had no particular protest to utter with regard to prejudice; that if persons chose to hate the colored race, they were at liberty to do so. That is very magnanimous; but I think the question has another side. We are the ideal state of civilization. This nation undertakes to pioneer the Nineteenth Century. It has always struck me that a civilization based upon one race is a very contemptible one. I am ashamed—not indignant—ashamed of New York, and Philadelphia, and Boston, and Chicago, when I remember, as a gentleman who had just landed from Paris told me last week, that in the "Fifth Avenue" hotels of Paris, in their most fashionable hotels, black men may take their places at the tables and share all the privileges of the hotel, and nobody takes notice of it. In Europe I saw black men and white men in the streets, in the churches, at lectures, everywhere, side by side. Civilization means the human race; it does not mean one race. When we are able to put aside the narrowness of white men, and recognize men, then, and not till then, we are a civilized state. Therefore I have a word to say upon prejudice—that it is not only unjust and contemptible, but an uneducated, undeveloped, ignorant state of existence. It is a comparatively savage epoch in the development of a nation.

I remember being told in Wisconsin of a man who married the daughter of a Hindoo. When she died, she wanted to be burned, as her fathers always had been; and her affectionate husband reared the pile, and was about to burn her, in his own grounds, upon the borders of the lake, when the ignorant population rushed in, with the sheriff at their head, shut up the man in his own house, and took possession of the body and buried it in spite of him. He sold out his property and moved to England. It was a fitting rebuke to a civilization that had no broad toleration of different habits and customs.

What I want, is something broad enough to take into its bosom the world, with all its varieties of creed, color, habits, customs, no matter what they are. Your street cars are only a testimony that at present Philadelphia is barbarous. It is the same barbarism that in China bars out the world, and that in the islands of the Pacific will not allow the Europeans to land. It is a mark of savage ignorance. You may call it conservatism or fashion, you may put colleges and newspapers behind it; no matter what you grace it with, or how you hide it, it is simply the savage with a bone in his nose and another in his ears. Until we come to toleration of other men than white men, we are not a civilized people.

I mention this because it is a fitting introduction to what I want to say this afternoon. I have not seen my friend Stebbins's petition; but if his remarks represent it, I have one exception to make to it. I do not go for Impartial Suffrage. That is a very good catch-word—"Universal Amnesty and Impartial Suffrage"—but it is a sham; it is a trick; it is an attempt to cheat us out of the reality; it is one of the refuges of the Southern intriguing spirit, to get the North to yield up what it fought for. Suppose you give Maryland Impartial Suffrage to-day. What would it be worth? Just nothing; because Maryland would have yielded the question, would have got rid of the enthusiasm for the principle, would have buried the epoch; and she would have gained just enough negro votes to kill the enthusiasm, and not help the Union party. It is a very wise and shrewd design; but it is one that bears within it the seeds of defeat. The colored man in Maryland to-day belongs to the class that cannot read and write, and will not read and write until the dominant party there chooses to allow it. Put Impartial Suffrage in Maryland to-day and you kill the Union party. You give them no substantial strength, and you deprive them of the issue. And it is so to a certain extent all over the South.

But if you will allow me to have Impartial Suffrage and the whole of my demand, perhaps I would take it. But my whole demand would be this: that the nation should retain for some seven or ten years the right to go inside of State lines and provide for education. Give me Impartial Suffrage and that, and although it is not an immediate guard, it would ultimately be one.

But what is the Southern programme? Horace Greeley's programme is universal amnesty, impartial suffrage, and setting up again all State lines. South Carolina says, "I do not want my negroes educated; Northern school-ma'ams, go home. We don't want their votes. We won't have the common schools. We will put the thing back where it was. The State has a right to shut out New England ideas. We will allow the man to vote that can read; but we do not mean that the negro shall learn to read, and we mean to put such a barrier against it that they cannot overcome it."

They might adopt that principle, and we might be ten or fifteen years fighting against it. Allow me to retain South Carolina as a territory, not restoring its sovereignty, so that having recognized impartial suffrage, citizenship and the school shall follow it, and then we are safe. We are not safe to allow South Carolina to come back as a State.

As Mr. Frothingham told us last May, in a very fine epigrammatic sentence, "Slavery, as a political status, is dead; as a legal entity, it is gone; but as an element of social life, it lives." The social aristocracy is not killed.

My friend says in his speech that if we could get the ballot, we would let it work out its own results. I am not willing to assent to that. The anti-slavery cause undertakes to protect the civil and political position of the negro race. Of course it restricts itself to what it can do. So long as the nation adhered to the compromises in the Constitution, we only thought of breaking the chain. But the war has come, and has broken up those compromises. The war has made the negro doubly hated for his services to us. What is our resulting duty? Not to secure him the parchment ballot, set to going the elements of the future, and then leave him.

Mr. Greeley says of me in a recent article in the *Tribune*, when I undertook to say that I looked forward to making the policy of the country such as to protect the negro in Brazil, Cuba, and everywhere, that I ask too much. All we can ask is that he shall have the ballot, and then leave him. I would have been glad to do that in 1850, or in 1860; but I am not glad to do it now, because I have power to do a great deal more. I always thought it the meanest thing in the world for a man, after having used a negro for 40 years, to make a merit of setting him free, leaving him ignorant, imbruted, in the lowest scale of civilization, and turning him out penniless and idea-less. That was not Christian. His duty as a Christian required that he should share with him in his freedom all his own superior advantages until he became as advanced a specimen of humanity as his nature would allow.

The nation stands to-day just as that man did. We have Carolina under our feet. She is a territory—not a State. She has no claims whatever. She has forfeited everything, and she now says, "What will you grant me?" Horace Greeley says, "Grant the negro the ballot, and I will back out of the State." I say, "No such thing." He would not be allowed to vote. Education would be made the test, and he would be allowed no schools. We might struggle for 20 years before he could be protected. Look at Jamaica with its impartial suffrage for thirty years, with the cultivated lands in the hands of the blacks; yet 500 negroes can be shot, and the British press rallies around the man that did it. We can hold Carolina politically until the social change is complete. We have a right to hold her by the power of the nation until these social and industrial elements have become fully grown.

My message to the South would be this: We do not mean to leave the negro at the bottom of the ladder. We mean to make a thoroughly developed reconstruction. We mean that Northern brains and ideas and capital shall go down there, and help him, and welcome him to fellowship until he actually gets education and wealth; until he actually stands on his feet in comparative equality with the white race. We mean to hold that State in some shape, until that is done. Grant that Robert Small as well as Gov. Aiken shall stand in the Courts; grant the colored man his essential rights; let the North come freely, and let her be welcome; and that is reconstruction. But impartial suffrage is a sham. I have no notion of submitting until I am compelled to submit, to any backing out of the war rights over the South Carolina territory, upon any mere parchment grant to the negro.

In the future, with that grand country and bankrupt people, I can see that the men and the money of the North will overwhelm them and gradually make them over in their own image. But it need not be done gradually. We have the power now, to shorten this torture under the harrow, of the colored race, into three years. Upon Greeley's plan, we may leave him to endure it for thirty. We may be obliged to leave him for the thirty years, for the people may not be ready. They seem to be ready, but we do not know yet. They have grown wonderfully within a few years. The election in Massachusetts of Edward Garrison Walker to the Legislature, is not a spurt. It is not a spasm. He has been for five years a recognized active member of the Republican party, elected to Town Conventions, County Conventions, State Conventions, recognized as a leading member of Committees, and one of their best speakers, carrying an influence that no other man would. He was talked of years ago; but his name was not pressed because some people thought his election could not be carried. And yet he is elected from one of the worst sections of Massachusetts, Charlestown and its neighborhood, where the Democratic party and the Irish vote predominate. In spite of that, this man, black as a man can be, thoroughly identified with the race, makes his way onward until he takes this as the next step in his elevation. If Massachusetts grows on for ten years to come, you may yet see that man go, grade by grade, until he gets up to Congress.

Men say this is social equality, What if it is? We do not pledge ourselves against social equality. We claim to make a civilization of which the negro race shall be an element, bearing his part of it, enjoying its educational and other privileges. We never thought to see a negro at Harvard College; but we have accomplished it, and we shall see one at Yale if he is not there now.

We want that same state of things in South Carolina. We can have it in five years if the nation will exert its political power decidedly enough and long enough to let the social elements grow up in their proper proportion. We have done it. Ben Butler made New Orleans over in the likeness of Boston. (Applause.) While he stayed there, everything fell into place. Had he stayed there seven years, New Orleans would have been a second Boston. What one man did in one city, we want the United States to do all over the South. Let it be decisively understood that there is impartiality at the helm, and that all the resources of constitutional law and of political right are to be exhausted in order to hasten the development of the new social state.

Gen. Wilson of my State says it is very dangerous to impeach the President. But that is one of our resources, and it is to be used, in order to let the world understand what we mean. Johnson is but a counter on the chessboard. If we impeach him, the South will understand it. Nero said he wished the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might cut it. Rebellion has one neck. Andrew Johnson wears it; and we can cut it. (Applause.) I am for using remorselessly every power in our hands to cut short this revolutionary anarchical epoch through which we are passing. We can prolong it, or we can shorten it. It is a mere question of time; the result is not doubtful. I said the other night that I would stop the supplies. I am for exhausting every constitutional power in order to shorten this crisis. Mr. Greeley is like the French officer who sits down and plants his seeds and folds his arms, and is very willing that others should suffer until those seeds bear fruit; being conscious that the result thirty or fifty years hence will be civilization. No doubt it will be; but can you do it better? If you can take a town as Butler took New Orleans, and make it over in an hour, that is better.

Take one little fact. A woman complained to Butler one day that her furniture had been taken from her by the landlord, for rent, not her rent, but the rent of the man who had hired the other half of the house; the law of Louisiana holding all upon the premises responsible for non-payment of rent by any tenant. Gen. Butler sent for the landlord and inquired, "The man who owed you for rent was a rich man who ran away?" "Yes." "And you have taken the furniture of this poor

(Continued on Third Page.)

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1866.

THE NEGRO.

A LATE number of the (London) *Examiner*, in an article headed "The Negro—The Negro," dogmatizes respecting the "character of the African negro" as if this were something not only now extant, but permanent, and incapable of change. After quoting varying opinions from other writers on this subject, he gives his own, to the following effect: The negro of Africa is among the inferior races of men, without by any means being the lowest, for he is superior to the Australian and several other races; he is at best a barbarian; he is, however, capable of a considerable degree of advancement, and can hardly be said to be anywhere a mere savage.

The article above mentioned, proceeding to give various details of evidence on one side of the question, and evidently written with the desire that the negro race may continue to hold its present relative position, ends with the following curious jumble of good, bad and indifferent:

"But whatever the superiority one race of man may naturally possess over another, the stronger has no more right to coerce the weaker than a strong man has to coerce one physically weaker, or a man to tyrannize over a woman. We have not been born with the instincts of a certain species of red ants, which cannot live themselves without making slaves of a certain portion of black ants. Independent of the injury done to the inferior race, a permanent and ineradicable one is inflicted on the superior. At this moment there are probably in the New World and its islands not fewer than 10,000,000 of African negroes, whose forefathers were expatriated through a criminal traffic, and whose presence has been the cause of wars and revolts, while it makes it difficult or impossible to establish free government and equal laws."

One specimen of the injury done to "the superior race" by slavery—an injury "permanent" up to 1866, but we will hope not "ineradicable"—appears in the rhetoric of the article from which I have quoted. An injury, it says, "is inflicted" on the superior race. But who inflicted it? The superior race themselves, who chose to establish slavery, chose to persist in it, chose for its sake to abolish freedom of speech and of the press in the whole region where they cherished it, chose to incorporate the utter violation of justice even into their legal code maintaining it, and chose, finally, to enter upon rebellion and make war in its behalf. Here are evils so enormous, so extensive and so deep-rooted as seriously to have retarded the progress of civilization and Christianity in the whole world, having corrupted not only the government, the press, and the commercial community, but the church, the clergy and the missionaries. The evil results of a vicious institution, one would think, should be ascribed to those who founded it, and those who exerted themselves to maintain it. But the writer in the *Examiner*, frankly expressing the ideas generated by long acquiescence in slavery as an established institution, takes a different view of the matter, and avoids all censure of "the superior race." According to him, it is *the presence of African negroes* in this country which "has been the cause of wars and revolts, while it makes it difficult or impossible to establish free government and equal laws!"

"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas."

Let us look at another specimen of intelligent discrimination of causes.

The negro, in our Southern States, has never possessed, in regard to marriage, anything more than the form, or the pretence of it, and this has always been held by him in subordination to the claim of compulsory concubinage made by "the superior race." The negro could have the piece of movable furniture that he called his "wife," only when the master, or the master's son, or the overseer didn't want her. From this state of things arose the immense number of mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons found at the South, forming, in all its cities and large towns, more than half of "the class of Americans called Africans." This mixture of blood has received the popular title of "amalgamation." But the slaveholding class, who forced their female chattels into this practice, and framed their laws so as to support it, and drew a systematic portion of their revenue from the sale of their own children by these connections—these members of "the superior race" make the loudest public outcry against amalgamation, and unanimously agree in ascribing its existence to the Abolitionists!

Immense, and wide-spreading and long-enduring "injury" has indeed been done in this country, both to the white race and the black. The *Examiner* refers it to the presence of negroes here; and, if I remember rightly, President Lincoln once said, in reply to a delegation of colored men who had come to address him, that the existing calamities would not have come upon this nation but for the presence of their race among us. But why should we ignore, or leave unmentioned, the notoriously real cause of these injuries? Slaveholders and their apologists have caused them. And the existing crisis of our nation imperatively requires that we should keep in mind, and plainly declare, the relation of these classes to the evils we are suffering. A set of men who were exercising atrocious tyranny not only over slaves at home, but over the North, and over the nation, have received a temporary check, the result of too much haste in their effort to maintain and fortify slavery. Balked in the late contest, but unchanged in mind and purpose, they are now trying a new experiment in pursuit of power, by alliance with President Johnson. Our only present way of opposing them is by defeating him; and to that work the *better* part of the nation must apply itself. If the better part of the nation be not yet the majority, free discussion and popular agitation must be pursued until it shall become so. Rest and quietness are not to be counted on, not for a moment to be thought of, while Andrew Johnson holds the power to assist the rebels and oppose the freedmen. Before permanent peace can come, a work of justice is to be done towards both these classes; of elevation to one, of repression to the other.

People talk glibly about "the superior race" as if the present possession of power and skill were the sole criterion of that distinction. But do moral and spiritual consideration go for nothing in settling the question of which *is* the superior race? Is the vulture of course, and without question, higher in the scale of being than the dove? Are the highwayman and the pickpocket really entitled to assume airs of superiority over the man of whose purse they have taken possession? Are strength and cunning a true patent of nobility? When you have found the highest degree of these, does that man of course stand at the head of the human race? And if you find in the same person, equally manifest with his power and skill, the height of wickedness and the depth of meanness, will these do nothing to invalidate his title?

We call ourselves Christians. It may be well to take the opinion of the founder of Christianity in regard to this matter. He said—"Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? But I am among you as he that serveth."

When Jesus uttered the Beatitudes, it is plain that he was not thinking of the sort of persons called by ethnologists "the superior race." Perhaps he would bestow that distinction elsewhere.

As to the capacity of the negro, it may be quite as well not to dogmatize about it, in the present state of our knowledge, but wait for the evidence that will spring from new circumstances and opportunities. Since he is human, and since human nature is the foundation whence all the distinction so far gained has sprung, in any of the races, let us give him a chance at development under civilization. It will do us no harm to help him a little in the process; but for Heaven's sake, let us not be guilty of the unspeakable meanness of forcibly taking away his chance, and crushing him *because* he is weak.

C. K. W.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MEETING.

We devote a large portion of our space this week to the proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held in Philadelphia on Thursday and Friday of last week. The sessions were fully attended throughout, and included many of the old and faithful anti-slavery men and women from different parts of the State. There were also in attendance at different times a considerable number of representatives of the clergy, of the best type of military gentlemen, and of the press. An earnest spirit, and an uncompromising moral tone, as will be seen from the report, characterized the speeches and discussions. All seemed to be impressed with the threatening aspect of public affairs, having for a President a besotted traitor and a manifest purpose on the part of the Wilsons, Greeleys, and other leading Republicans, to shirk the responsibility of impeachment. The demand for impeachment was made by nearly all the speakers, and always warmly applauded. A resolution to that end was adopted with hearty unanimity. Members of Congress accustomed to listen to the voice of the Anti-Slavery Societies, as representing the conscience of the nation in whatever pertains to impartial freedom, will do well to note the unanimity among Abolitionists in favor of the prompt removal from office, as constitutionally provided, by impeachment, of one who has betrayed alike the colored and the loyal white men and women of the nation. A thorough reconstruction was demanded of Congress, one which shall guarantee both education and the ballot to the freedmen, and make truly Republican State governments in the now rebellious territories ultimately possible. The barbarous treatment of the colored people, in excluding them from the cars, was thoroughly and profitably considered. The discussion upon that topic cannot fail to result in good. It is expected that a report of the proceedings—the fullest of which we shall present next week— will be issued in pamphlet form for sale and distribution.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION, held at Albany on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week, was, we are glad to learn, well attended, and characterized by an earnest spirit and a lively interest throughout its sessions. A series of resolutions and an Appeal to the people of the State were adopted. We have these in type, and shall present them to our readers in a subsequent issue. A committee was also appointed to protest against the adoption by the Legislature of the pending Constitutional Amendment. Among those who participated in the discussions were Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, Giles B. Stebbins, Mrs. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, H. B. Blackwell, Lucy Stone, Charles Lenox Remond and Rev. Olympia Brown.

A MASS MEETING, under the auspices of the American Equal Rights Association, is to be held at the Cooper Institute, in this city, Thursday and Friday, December 6th and 7th.

Among the speakers will be Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frances D. Gage, Frederick Douglass, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell, Charles Lenox Remond, Rev. Olympia Brown, Bessie Bisbee, Susan B. Anthony, and others.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS will give the second lecture of the Brooklyn Fraternity Course on Monday evening, Dec. 17th. His subject will be "The Sources of Danger to the Republic." This lecture, on account of a prior engagement of the Academy for another purpose, will be given in Plymouth Church.

GEN. BUTLER'S lecture, in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, on Saturday evening last, was numerously attended, very attentively listened to, and warmly applauded. It was an able, lawyer-like presentation of the question of Impeachment. It is, we understand, to be issued in pamphlet form, and widely circulated.

THE STANDARD will be issued one day later than usual this week, on account of the observance of Thursday as a day of Thanksgiving.

PERSONAL.

A. Bronson Alcott is about to go to St. Louis to give "Conversations" on Philosophy.

Rev. Petroleum V. Nasby (E. A. Locke) is, it is said, about to change his literary base from Toledo to New York.

Mr. N. C. Dennett, a well-known New England Abolitionist, now cashier of the Freedmen's Savings Bank at Jacksonville, Fla., was married Saturday last, in Brooklyn, to Miss Carrie E. Jocelyn, a teacher of the Freedmen, and daughter of the Rev. Mr. Jocelyn. We extend to them our hearty congratulations and our best wishes as they return Southward. Mr. Dennett's life has been repeatedly threatened by the "Reconstructed" whites of Florida, to whom, as an active and very influential friend of the freed people, he is obnoxious.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Tilton gave a Reception, in their new and beautiful home on Livingston street, in Brooklyn, on Saturday evening last. There were a large number of guests present, including Gen. Butler; the Lieut.-Governor elect, Gen. Woodford; Mr. John Russell Young, the Managing Editor of the *Tribune*; Mr. George W. Smalley, of the *Tribune*, who has just returned from Europe; Edward Cary, Esq., of the Brooklyn *Union*; Rev. Mr. Gallaher, and other well-known citizens. Mr. Tilton has since left for the West on an extended lecturing tour.

Mrs. Ella Davis Rockwood, of Natick, Mass., is, we are gratified to learn, achieving marked success as a Lyceum lecturer. We hear of her as having lectured at Concord, N. H., and elsewhere recently before Lyceums, and greatly to the satisfaction of her audiences. The Salem (Mass.) *Observer*, in noticing a lecture by Mrs. Rockwood at Danvers, says: "She spoke (at Danvers) for one hour, without notes, and with wonderful eloquence and power, holding the entire assemblage spell-bound from the beginning to the end. Young, handsome, graceful, and perfectly self-possessed, and thoroughly baptized with the spirit of her theme, she won all hearts."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, November 26th, 1866.

OUR last week's Fraternity lecture, an admirable one, by Theodore Tilton, was on the "Corner-Stone of Reconstruction."

A public man, especially if he be an energetic laborer for the public good, is naturally connected in our minds with the place of his business rather than with that of his domicil; and so the lecturer on this occasion was presented to the audience as Theodore Tilton of New York city. Mr. Tilton humorously disclaimed this description as an unjustifiable association of his name with bad manners and morals, and evil company, and informed the audience that he lived in Brooklyn; but the life-like pictures of the corruption of New York city, political and other, which he repeatedly had occasion to introduce into his lecture, and the compliments which, by contrast, he paid to Boston, seemed so generally to spring from such knowledge of your wicked city as only residence in it could give, that we thought the charge substantially justified. We shall always think of this accomplished lecturer, editor, poet and radical reformer, as Theodore Tilton of New York. Would that more of the same class could live and work there to counterbalance the mass of the population, and the city government which they have made in their own image, after their likeness.

Mr. Tilton's lecture ably criticised the Constitutional Amendment, the President's policy, the Republican policy, and the various theories of suffrage now before the country. Of the readmission of the rebel States he said, that the one great condition of it—the simple, final, beautiful, indispensable and inexorable condition—should be the equal rights of all people before the law. This judgment was appreciated and warmly applauded by the audience.

In a sermon here yesterday—you know that in this city some ministers *will* preach on politics, say right out what they mean, and mention parties and persons by name on Sunday as on any other day—it was said that, great as was the disgrace to New York of the election of Morrissey to Congress, it would be yet worse for the State and the country to have Greeley elected. Of course many of the hearers thought this statement extravagant; but of course also some were led by thought and discussion about the matter to see how the statement is true. Morrissey will have no influence in Congress, and no power out of it resulting from his membership. The chief thing that his election has done and will do is to bring disgrace on a city population and a national party that merit disgrace, and that may possibly be forced by shame to avoid such excess of indecency in future. But Greeley has great influence; and if he should be elected in this critical period of our nation's history, that influence would be used in aid of the most disastrous and pernicious measure at present possible to us, namely, a patching up of the controversy between the President and Congress, an arrangement for peace and quietness now, even though the *causes* of contention are left to work beneath the surface, ultimately to break out in a new conflagration. The old Whig blood still circulates in Greeley's veins. His very essence is compromise. To split the difference is his rule of action. But for us now, at this formative period, to split the difference with the South, is to leave the Constitution imperfect and the National government corrupt; to leave the negro unprotected, destitute of political rights, and certain to be soon deprived of the exercise of the civil rights lately granted him; to leave a state of things throughout the South which will prevent alike the settlement of Northern men there, the elevation of the native blacks, the establishment of trade, manufactures and the mechanic arts on a better footing than the old one; to leave the North disgraced by betraying her black ally into the hands of the common enemy; to establish, under the name of peace, a temporary truce, leaving the two sections of the country still antagonistic and hostile; and, finally, to leave the men who organized the late rebellion in a position more craftily to organize another. Who, that remembers Mr. Greeley's attempt, in Canada, to mediate between the rebels and the government, would consent to put into his hands the settlement of our present difficulties? In many subordinate and incidental matters he would give good counsel; in regard to the one thing needful, the great question which dwarfs all others, and which is now waiting to be decided, his vote, his voice, his whole influence would help the enemy; he would be as dangerous in Congress as Alexander H. Stephens, in whose behalf the *Tribune* has so often pleaded, and who is now throwing off the mask he wore during his imprisonment, and for a time after it.

A meeting of the New England Branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission was held here last week, to raise funds in aid of the education of the freedmen. Gen. Howard, who had been expected, was unavoidably absent, but excellent speeches were made by ex-Gov. Andrew, President of the Association, Henry Ward Beecher, George Thompson, and Judge Russell. The greatness of the existing need in this direction, and the fact that Southern whites need, even more than blacks, those advantages of free school education which the Freedmen's Commission aim to diffuse everywhere in the South, were ably presented by the various speakers. Gov. Andrew stated that the expenses of the Branch which he represented had been $65,000 during the past year. But so obvious was the benefit of this expenditure, and so wide was the additional field calling for similar help, that he thought the proper contribution of Boston to this work, at this moment, would be not less than $50,000.

A portion of the sum named, it does not yet appear how much, was raised and pledged at this meeting, and efforts will be made to raise more; but the necessitous region is so great that all that is likely to be done in this way will supply but a very small fraction of the existing need, and the mass of the people do not yet *begin* to realize the demand that duty makes upon them in this direction. Neither do they begin to realize that their *interests*, political, economical, social and moral, second this demand of duty. If the clergy of the various denominations would expend half their labor on this subject which they apply through "revival measures" to the enlargement of their respective churches and sects, we should see a different state of things.

The "Theodore Parker Freedmen's Aid Society," an auxiliary of the New England Branch above mentioned, is making new efforts to raise funds for the work of Southern education. Letters received from their teachers at the South, give vivid pictures both of the need and the encouragement there existing. Food, clothing, school-books, household utensils, agricultural implements of every sort are wanted there; but amidst all their destitution and suffering, a strong desire for instruction shows itself. Some pupils walk to the school eight miles and back every day. One of the things for which the colored people ask is "books of National Songs," and surely this is a desire which ought to be gratified. Here is a branch of education heretofore as much neglected and discouraged as any in the South, but which now may be effectively introduced. Let the blacks, and as many whites as will join them, uplift their voices, and sing, "that all may hear," of the eagle and the flag, of the stars and stripes that, in the act of overthrowing rebellion, overthrew slavery; and let all Freedmen's Societies send books like these with their primers and spelling-books.

The *Post*, of this city, quotes the favorable portion of the reports of Gens. Foster and Fisk respecting the condition of the freedmen in their respective departments at the South, for the purpose of assuming that facts like these *prove* that "*the South* is not trying to keep the blacks ignorant!" It further wishes that we may "have an end of all controversy concerning negroes and their rights, so as to be ready to go about our business." The *Post*, and its brethren of the nominally "Democratic" press, may rest assured that "an end of controversy concerning negroes and their rights" will *never* come while distinctions founded on color are upheld by law. If they wish so very much for the restoration of quietness and concord, let them use the means, the only possible means, of obtaining them, and add their voices to the demand for impartial justice, the equal rights of *all people* before the law, as the basis of the pending reconstruction.

The propeller steamship Ontario, the pioneer of an ocean line which the American Steamship Company intend to establish between this city and Liverpool, was launched at Newburyport two days ago, and will come at once to East Boston, where her equipment will be finished. She is the largest merchant ship ever launched in New England, being 325 feet in length, and 3,000 tons burden.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, November 26, 1866.

THE great speech of Mr. Phillips, at Philadelphia, as reported in the *Tribune*, has created a most profound sensation among real, thinking, earnest men here. It is acknowledged on all hands to be by far the most able, comprehensive, all-embracing statement of the real issue now before the country that has proceeded from the lips of any public man. Would to Heaven the clear, cogent and searching analysis of that masterly effort could be placed in the hands of every man and woman in the country who can read! To my mind Mr. Phillips has, in that single effort, given to the country the most convincing proof of the falsity of the stereotyped criticism upon his efforts as a reformer, that he knew only how to *tear down*, but utterly lacked the *creative* genius of the statesman. Everybody has been willing to concede his commanding ability and power in the work of demolishing the ancient abuses which lie at the foundations of society, and in undermining the giant wrongs which the "privileged classes" have reared upon the shoulders of the laboring masses. But with almost equal unanimity it has been asserted, until, from the sheer force of iteration, it has come to pass for truth, that he was a mere destructive,—a blind and vindictive Samson, who was straining at the very pillars of our national edifice, careless of the universal ruin he might work, so the accursed "Philistines" were ground to powder. But the pregnant sentences of the Philadelphia address, disclosing the broad grasp and intuitive comprehension of the great statesman, who would build his massive and symmetrical superstructure upon foundations laid broad and deep in the enduring granite of justice and humanity—these reveal to the people the "coming man" of this age, under whose prescient leadership the selfish political quacks who have undertaken to doctor the diseased body politic with such vile nostrums as the "constitutional amendments" will be shelved for the men who have had the manhood and the courage to battle for what is right rather than what is popular.

I believe Mr. Phillips has struck exactly the right chord in exactly the right way this time, and I think you will see those ideas bear fruit in the coming session, if you watch events closely. I much mistake the set of the popular current if this Congress be not impelled, from purely selfish considerations, if from no other, to put the axe to the very root of the poisonous Upas tree planted by the rebel of the White House in the "reconstructed States," and diligently nurtured by him for a year past. Certain it is, if they do not, they will prove themselves the most treacherous of Representatives of the people and the veriest of cowards. The people have officially demanded, and will have that kind of "reconstruction" of which they were defrauded, for the time, by J. Wilkes Booth.

But you need not look for a successful attempt at impeachment of the President this session, unless some new and more alarming developments of his treachery shall be rapidly made public; although I know it to be a fact that a serious and determined effort to that end will be made. The fact is there is not nerve enough, back-bone enough, in the Thirty-ninth Congress to attempt so decided a measure. They fear forcible resistance on Johnson's part, as threatened openly by all his "satraps and dependents." And there are plenty of old women in the ranks of the Republican party who will savagely oppose any such measure. They are under bonds—7-30 bonds!—to keep the peace, even at the expense of keeping this wretched traitor in his seat, hoping that he may be, somehow, prevented from doing too much mischief. Mr. Phillips very truly tells us that the capital of the nation is behind the Republican party, but he omits to tell us that the whole influence of that capital will be used to prevent the consummation of the only measure which, I fear, can save the nation another long and bloody war, foreign or domestic, or both—viz: impeachment. Show me a Republican who is loudest in denunciation of such a measure, and I will show you a man whose treasures are laid up in government bonds.

I believe we are on the eve of a foreign war, as the first step in the new tactics of the Johnson-Seward conspiracy to evade or nullify the recent popular decision upon questions of reconstruction. I have had reason to believe for nearly a year past, that in just such a contingency as the present the bold traitor of the White House and his Macchiavellian Premier would foment a quarrel with France or England, under cover of which they might more certainly effect their nefarious purpose. Our relations with France, it would seem, are the most critical. The Emperor has chosen to violate the agreement made a year since to withdraw at least one-third of the French troops in Mexico on the first of November instant, promising to withdraw the whole early next year. But it is believed here that our Minister at Paris has been instructed to make a peremptory demand upon Napoleon for a compliance with the original understanding. The sudden convening of the Cabinet on Thursday, and again on Friday, at which latter meeting Gen. Grant was present, gives strong confirmation to this version of the matter. Indeed it is not concealed in copperhead circles here that a foreign war is desirable to restore the lost *prestige* of the Administration, and give it capital, whereby it may be able to overcome the immense ascendency of the Republicans in the North. There are only two courses left to Mr. Johnson which will give him the ghost of a chance to save his domestic policy from being buried in the grave already dug for it by the great Northern masses. One of these is a foreign war, and the other is a civil war consequent upon his refusal to carry out the will of the people as expressed through Congress. He will hardly try the latter, while the former may accomplish the same purpose. Therefore, if Napoleon is too astute to risk a war with us in behalf of his fearful blunder in Mexico, there are still the Alabama claims outstanding against England, which can be used to effect a rupture with her, though the *Times* and Lord Derby have given us virtual notice that even those claims will be paid if they are not too peremptorily pressed upon them. Failing that, the Fenians will be again let loose upon Canada, this time not to be choked off by our government; and it will go hard in the resulting complications if a suitable pretext be not found to warrant us in repaying the little debt incurred to old England in the Trent affair with compound interest. Mr. Seward and Head-Centre Stephens are playing a sharp game together, but the Irishman is the smarter man of the two, and Uncle Sam will be very fortunate indeed if he does not pull the Irish chesnuts out of the fire at the expense of badly singed paws. So you will find in the end that Mr. Phillips's premonition in regard to these matters are, as usual, prophetic.

I suppose you have seen the semi-official announcement of the President's mouth-piece, "on high authority," that all the "bosh" of the Chicago *Times*, Boston *Post*, Albany *Argus*, *et cetera*, *et cetera*, in regard to the adoption by the President of "impartial suffrage and universal suffrage" is repudiated at the White House; that "he declares to all who advise him that he does not regard the results of the election as indicating the real sentiments of the people; that they were carried away by excitement, and will yet reverse their decision." They do not know or understand Mr. Johnson. Who imagined otherwise? I never for one moment put faith in the new sensation. He is under contract with the men who made him President, and he dare not repudiate that contract, even if he would. He will not forsake his rebel friends, nor cease to plot for their reinstatement in power, while he remains in office. He sits astride the nation's neck, as did the Old Man of the Sea about the neck of Sindbad, and removal is the only security against strangulation. And when Congress shall conclude to shake him off, it may find his grip too strong, though it strive till it is black in the face.

The *Intelligencer* foreshadows the dangers in our pathway in an article upon "The Clouds in the Horizon," in which it enumerates "the revolutionary designs of the Radicals." Among these "clouds," it thinks, is the danger that the copperhead North and the rebel South having elected a President in 1868, the Senate, as at present constituted, may refuse to count the electoral votes for the South. In such an event, the *Intelligencer* asks significantly: "Will the party which has succeeded in the election rest satisfied? *Is there not danger of another civil war?*"

An extract from another of these parasites of the Administration, the *Constitutional Union*, shall suffice for this occasion. You remember that a *Herald* "special" stated that "it is

duces the paragraph in connection with the "soldiers' mass welcome to Congress" with the following comments:

"But if the assemblage of the 3d proximo *takes on the character of revolutionists, and attempts to subvert the government (!)* we will be neither surprised nor displeased if the Mobocrats find out exactly how many troops there are in or around Washington, without consulting company or regimental rolls."

OBSERVER.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(Continued from Second Page.)

laboring woman?" "Yes." "Was it not rather unfair to take her furniture to pay that man's debt?" "That is not my business; that is the law." "Was it not rather a hard case for her?" "Yes, sir; but I want the law." "You want the exact law; do you? Well, I will satisfy you. Just show me your permit to let the premises to a slave." "Oh, there was an understanding betwixt her master and myself that I should." "The law has no mention of understandings," says Ben; "if you have not a written permit, you are liable to a fine of $2,000. Now give this woman her furniture and $500, or I shall fine you $2,000." That man went into the street with a new idea inspired by the judicial system of New Orleans. It was a revolution. It turned the whole social state upside down, and right side up.

We need the same thing nationally. If we had had a patriot in the place of Andrew Johnson, we should have had it. But Johnson, with his peace policy, called back these bigoted, defiant, narrow-minded, oligarchical, aristocratic thousand brains that had instituted the war, and said to them, "Be the State again." He so far upset the results of the war. Now, all Congress has to do is to upset his step, and turn the war back into its old channel; to call upon loyalty, and to set the disloyal element aside. The mistake of Congress in its amendment is that they call them back to a state of sovereignty. If that amendment is adopted, that moment you have back again the old, angry, white, dominant element, and we are left just where we were in 1860, to have the same political intriguing go on. That seems to me forgetting the danger of the crisis through which we have passed. We fought to decide whether the men of the South, black or white, should rule it, or whether certain old-fashioned leaders should rule it. We conquered in virtue of the first alternative; and now we are to carry it out.

To adopt this principle of "impartial suffrage and universal amnesty," and leave it to Wade Hampton to say how much opportunity for culture, and what advantages the negro shall have, whether he shall buy land, is no end to the problem at all. It is a sham. The only thing we can do is to brace Congress up to the duty of retaining its hold upon all this Southern territory, not reorganizing it into States, admitting nobody at present, letting the Northern idea develop itself. The people are all right. You see it in the men they choose. Out West, Grant cannot get applauded, because they say he wears the color of neither camp. He fought well in Virginia; but is there a man in this house who believes that if Ben Butler had been at New Orleans, the riot there would have been possible? Yet Butler would be trod under foot to-morrow if he repeated Beecher. It is not his laurels, or his past services, but where he stands to-day, that the masses regard. This is a welcome feature of the present time, that the leading men of the North listen to public sentiment, and that so long as they are faithful they will be upheld. Mr. Greeley said the other day, "We will have impartial suffrage within six months, if Gen. Butler does not prevent us." So little does he understand that the pioneer who carries the flag in the vanguard, the man whom the people recognise as symbolic of their own purposes, is not himself but Gen. Butler.

The timidity on the part of the leaders of the Republican party, this doubt how much they can venture to do with the people sustaining them, is a legacy which Lincoln left them. They have the idea that they are so far ahead of the people that the people are out of sight; whereas they are so far behind that that they cannot see ahead far enough to see the people. It is the old case of the man who asked the boy how soon he would get to Pottsville. "You will never get there," said the boy, "if you don't turn round." They think they are ahead of the people; and so with every step that Lincoln took. Yet in every case the people not only accepted it, but instantly, like Oliver, asked for more.

Ostensibly, in the newspapers, this canvass has been fought upon the question of the amendment; but behind the curtain, it has been the question of suffrage that rallied the votes. That was the only thing they cared about. It was only the leading men that were ignorant. One of the candidates for office, in the West, said to Gen. Butler before one of his speeches, "Now, General, don't say a word about negroes. Leave suffrage out, or you will kill me dead." Ben calmly went into his chamber. He hasn't a wholesome way of speaking. He speaks somewhat as the Irishman spoke to Johnson. He spoke in that vocabulary. But he intimated his decided opinion of the matter. When he got on the platform, he made a speech full of suffrage. Instead of being hissed, or received coldly, the gentleman said, "It took two of us to carry back off the platform in our extended arms the bouquets that were thrown at him;" and in that very community the member was elected by a larger majority than ever before. The politician would have had him go over the question tender-footed, saying nothing about the most important question at issue. It only shows how ignorant some of the pretended leaders are, of the real purpose, the hankering desire, the longing, the zeal of the people to settle these questions at once.

I do not know what may be the feeling in the State of Pennsylvania, but I believe that throughout the North generally, for the sake of settling this Southern problem, the States would let their own wills with regard to the negro go by the board. We are yet utterly unable to explain, in Boston, how Mitchell was taken, in the most fashionable Ward in the city. His name was not erased, his ticket was not scratched by anybody. The wealth and leading men of the place sustained him. One old gentleman of 92, a victim to the gout, a man who held an office in a bank and an insurance company, said to a friend: "The reason why I most regret that the gout chains me here, is, that I cannot vote for Mitchell." Three years ago that man would not have thought of the negro's having a vote, much less of voting for one. But the common sense of the people has looked at the problem.

My idea is that this Society should call forth the popular demand that Congress shall place itself at the head of the government, by impeaching the President and putting him out of the way. (Applause.) It is not that we want to punish him, because he may be the honest victim of his own prejudices; but we want his place. We want to run the machine under Northern ideas, and we cannot trust him. We want to impeach him, in order to get rid of him; and with a sufficient popular demand, it can be done. The *Tribune* to-day is against impeachment; but let a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand petitions come up from the North and West demanding it, and we can bow the *Tribune* as we can anything else. In fact, it is the last battle. He is the last Southerner to be whipped. We want to complete the victory. He is the lingering element that Grant did not conquer; and Congress will have to take him in hand. And I want to suggest another resolution, if he is not subdued and cut of office by the Fourth of March:

Resolved, That if Andrew Johnson remains in office on the Fourth of March, 1867, it will be the duty of the present Congress to provide that the Fortieth Congress shall assemble on the Fifth day of March, 1867.

Don't leave him there another term to raise constitutional questions. The very first thing for Congress to do, is to try its strength with the President. I do not know that they can impeach him; but they can try, and see whether South Carolina and the Democratic party rule this government, or the people. Let Boutwell, and Sumner, and Judge Kelley, and Wade, and Stevens, demand the impeachment of the President and make it the policy of the Republican party, and there will not be a shadow of opposition. But we must have the courage to try strength with the President. The reason he has ruled is because the Republican party did not dare to try strength with him. They ought to have impeached him last session. They ought to have stopped the supplies last April. Postponing is only strengthening him. He has got the South in a better state than last Summer, better than last Winter. It is stronger than it was.

This movement seems to some people distinct from American Anti-Slavery; but it is my Anti-Slavery. The war has given us the opportunity of giving the negro race a fair chance, a good start; and we are bound, as Abolitionists, to embrace it. We are bound to endeavor to urge the nation up to it. It is a great opportunity. The world is looking on to see whether democratic institutions shall go on or fail. The South has always been victorious, because she seized opportunities. The moment Johnson showed his prochvities, she leaped into the saddle of the opportunity. That is what we must do. We elevated a Tennessee politician to the Presidency, and of course he bloomed out in his natural affinities. The society of Chief-Justice Chase was oppressive to him, as the clear air of the mountain would be to a man accustomed to breathe tobacco smoke. Charles Sumner was an incumbrance. A man whose life was like Kelley's, was a rebuke to him. His nature was ill at ease in all that company. He had been kicked up to that level by the hate of the Southern aristocracy, when they went off. He did not go there naturally. He never hated the South; yet the South despised him. When he reached his elevation, he fell into his natural affinities—low, narrow-minded, bigoted and prejudiced. He drank in the elements that came from that atmosphere; and, if you live twenty years, you will, in my opinion, see the proof in white and black that before the First day of July, letters or messages passed between that man and, if not Jeff Davis himself, his counsel; so that he was pledged to the South before the Summer opened. He was pledged—not to betray our flag, not to divide the nation—but to balk the North and save the Southern idea. He is trying to keep his pledge. His whole nature is opposed to us; he cannot go with us. You might as well expect a sour apple to become a peach. It is not a thing possible in the usual term of a man's life, to make Johnson a man that can be trusted as a Northern representative. He has not the capacity; he is not in that stage of existence.

I met a man once in the cars who despised Theodore Parker, because he had been told that he believed that pollywogs wrought their way up until they became men. Said I, "I don't know but I believe the theory, for I sometimes meet a man in the cars who has not got much above the pollywog state." Mr. Johnson is in an imperfect stage of development. There is not time enough at our disposal for him to get much higher. It may not be his fault. At some future judgment seat, it may be settled whether it is his misfortune or his fault. But the next time that practical statesmanship chooses a leader for Northern sentiment, we want it to choose a man who has sucked in the idea with his mother's milk, and whose great-grandfather did before him.

Mr. Banks said at Malden—"Not only am I in favor of the suffrage, but the great majority of the House of Representatives are also in favor of it." Let them go forward and enact it then. For once in your long and useless lives, take a conviction and put it into a law. This Society, it seems to me, has this function—to push these men up to enact their convictions. (Applause.)

Remarks of Mr. Peterson.

Mr. HENRY PETERSON, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, of Philadelphia, said that although he had not attended many Anti-Slavery meetings of late years, he wished to throw out a few ideas upon the question of universal suffrage, which, if erroneous, could be easily answered; but, if true, should be duly considered before adopting the principle advocated here. Anti-Slavery people, and especially Anti-Slavery orators, were generally very positive, and could certainly never be accused of being men without convictions. When the Anti-Slavery societies adopted resolutions in favor of the dissolution of the Union, he had left them, for he no longer agreed with them. They then held that it was best, as a practical measure, for Massachusetts and other Northern States to leave the Union. If we believe that the men in the South who attempted to dissolve the Union were traitors, we cannot believe that the men in the North who advocated the same thing were correct, or that it was good policy. Wendell Phillips had said that the plan of Jeff Davis was not to leave Washington himself, but to force the North into rebellion. If we had taken the advice of the Abolitionists, and gone out of the Union, we should have been crushed, and probably slavery would have now been established in every Northern State. This shows that the position the Abolitionists were so positive was right, was, in fact, wrong. They had shown themselves to be what Napoleon called ideologists, men who live in the regions of idea, and who cannot see the facts right before them.

To-day these same men advocate universal suffrage. If the Republican party had gone into the Fall elections with universal suffrage inscribed upon its banner, it would have been defeated in every Northern State, excepting perhaps New England. The speakers in the campaign may have come to the opposite conclusion, because one-twentieth of an audience, impulsive and full of one idea, may make so much noise as to be mistaken for the whole audience. Others, who do not agree with the sentiment, frequently applaud when the speaker says a good thing, as Locksley, in Ivanhoe, said he always applauded when a good blow was struck. A great many Republicans had voted as they did, upon the ground that the Constitutional Amendment gave to South Carolina the same right that Pennsylvania enjoyed, of regulating the suffrage question as they chose. Our representatives in Congress had adopted the plan of the Constitutional Amendment as their plan, and the people had sanctioned it. New England might oppose it, but he hoped New England never would be considered as representing the Middle States.

But suppose universal suffrage is enacted, and the army is withdrawn, which is the new programme. It would make no difference in the vote; for either the colored people would not vote at all, or they would vote as the dominant class wished them to vote. What did universal suffrage amount to in the West India Islands?

Mr. PHILLIPS—They have not got it yet.

Mr. PETERSON—They had impartial suffrage, but what did it amount to? And if they had universal suffrage, what would that amount to? And what will it amount to in the South? It would certainly enlist all the white people against us, and in most of the States they would be in the majority on a fair vote. But without an army of three or four hundred thousand men, we could not secure a fair vote; universal suffrage could only be enforced by a Northern army. But the Northern people are opposed to universal suffrage. We have not universal suffrage in Pennsylvania, nor in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, or in the great mass of the Northern States. They have it in Massachusetts; but there are no colored men to vote there. It might do no harm to allow universal suffrage in the Northern States, because there are so few that their votes would not materially affect the result.

What we want in this country is liberty. I value the right to vote, said Mr. P., nothing like as highly as the great majority of people. If I could have my liberty to act freely without the right to vote, I should care very little about the right to vote. So far as the right to vote aids me to obtain my liberty, I value it. I think as a means it is very much overvalued. Ignorance and vice in politics always go together. So far as my observation extends, I do not know but it is better to have vice than ignorance. A bad man will always, for his own good, which is bound up with yours, manifest a little goodness; but it is ignorance, especially combined with the idea that it is doing service to all men, that does the most harm. What is the right to vote? It is to be in the majority of the government. What is government? It is the right to govern. If you allow men to vote upon their manhood, and interpret manhood to mean a full development, physical, intellectual and moral, no man has a right to vote, for there are no men. And especially, taking a race just out of slavery, they cannot vote upon their manhood, because they have not yet the manhood to vote upon.

He regarded the Southern men as brothers. They had adhered to the opposite principle from our own, but they had been conquered, and were now willing to admit that no State has the right to secede. It had been stated lately, that while at West Point, Jeff. Davis had a text-book placed in his hands, under the administration of John Quincy Adams, embodying the old Virginia State's Rights notion of the right to secede. We ought to have some charity for those men, and to treat them with fairness. I feel, said he, that the white men of the South are more particularly my brethren than the black men of the South, and I feel no shame in asserting it.

It was a farce for Mr. Phillips to speak of "our triumph." Mr. Phillips had been opposed to the Republican party throughout the canvass; and if it had been defeated, he would have said, "I told you so; if you had taken ground in favor of universal suffrage, you would have triumphed." He is mistaken in supposing that the party is behind him. Three-fourths of them are opposed to him, and they have a right to be heard.

Philadelphia is a loyal city, loyal to the core. There is not a truer city in the Union—not even Boston; yet you cannot get the custom in the street cars, if you undertake by force to alter the dispositions and prejudices of men. Benjamin Butler did not change New Orleans. It was the army behind him that forced New Orleans to behave herself according to his notions. The moment the restraint was removed, New Orleans rejoiced; and I have no doubt they felt the other day: we have been held down so long, and now we will show that we are free again. There is something in the mind of man that will not be forced in that way, and it is noble. The South cannot be forced into the spirit of Abolitionism. Even an army of occupation cannot alter the social feeling of the Southern States. Try it in Philadelphia. Bring an army here to put the negro into the street cars. Will it convert us? I know how I should feel. I should say, I am in favor of the negro's riding in the street cars, but if the United States don't keep its hands off of us, I am in favor of asserting our right to do as we please." People who are now with you, would talk in that way. It is a mistake, and how ridiculous it is for men who have been all their lives talking moral suasion, now to come here and talk about forcing ideas into people's hearts by the bayonet. I wonder if those gentlemen ever read any of their old speeches. Those who are the warmest advocates of universal suffrage, were all non-voters a few years ago. If the black men of the South could only be converted to that doctrine, all that would be necessary would be for the government to do something so wicked that the negro voters could not agree to it, and then they would all stay away from the polls. Then where would be their suffrage?

People have the idea that if they vote, they are represented. That is not true. If you vote and are in the minority, you are not represented at all. The subject is too broad to be fully considered to-night; but I have thrown out those ideas, hoping that gentlemen from the other side will reflect upon them.

Mr. D. Y. KILGORE wished to state that during the campaign, in this State and Delaware, the people everywhere applauded most the most radical speakers. It was the politicians, and not the people, who were not prepared for universal suffrage.

After a song by Messrs. JOSHUA HUTCHINSON and WALTER KITTREDGE, the Convention adjourned until Friday morning at 10 o'clock.

Second Day.

FRIDAY, November 23, 1866.

The Society met at 10 o'clock, a.m., and was called to order by Mr. PURVIS, during the day, at the request of Mr. Mott, the President.

Messrs. JOSHUA HUTCHINSON and WALTER KITTREDGE sang "Spero meliora" ("I hope for better things"), receiving the thanks of the audience therefor.

Mrs. LUCRETIA MOTT said—I will make a few remarks at the opening of our meeting upon the subject of our free platform. It has always been our rejoicing that we have preserved our platform free, and have welcomed the voice of an opponent. At the same time I want to say that we do not hold ourselves as a debating society, but a gathering of those who are as of one mind and one heart in the great cause for which we are associated. Considering that the time is ours, and that the time is very precious, I want to suggest that the good sense of any speakers who may be in opposition to us, must be depended upon to limit them in their opposition. Their good sense will teach them that they ought not to consume much time, and draw forth opposition and rejoinder, and so use up our time to disadvantage rather than to the benefit of the great cause for which we are associated. I should be sorry to have to limit the time of each speaker. It is very cramping to the speaker to be thus limited. I wish all to remember that there are many who wish to say something to us here. We have also a number of strangers here, and common courtesy demands that we should give an opportunity to them. Our friend Frances D. Gage has travelled somewhat, and knows somewhat, from her association with the people, of the Radicalism that there is abroad. I presume she will say something to us to-day. Then our friend Aaron M. Powell has had no opportunity, and our friend Susan B. Anthony has said very little; and I might name others. I make these remarks only to suggest that it is our duty to be brief, and for any opponent not to consume too much time in the expression of opposition.

Mr. E. M. DAVIS—I am exceedingly glad to hear the remarks which have just been made by my mother-in-law. We are agreed in our opinion; and if there is a small minority that cannot go along with the wagon, they will be jostled off, and a few of "the fellows" will be "thrown out." We do not want to limit the time; but we have certain duties to be performed, and only so many hours left. We have come here to confer together to see how we can press forward. We are agreed upon the question of suffrage that it is a thing to be done. I think the gentleman who spoke last night so long, thoroughly answered himself, and that it will not require one second's time to reply to him. All these objections were answered twenty years ago. We have not time to go back to them. The wagon must go on if it does jerk some people off. I will make the motion that speeches to-day be limited to ten minutes. Then if the audience desire to hear any speaker further they can say so. Our friends need not be confined to ten minutes unless they get off the track.

The motion was agreed to.

Remarks of Mr. Powell.

Mr. AARON M. POWELL (Editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD) said:

Before making the few remarks I propose to offer this morning, I desire, without conference with the committee, to read two resolutions, to be passed into their hands, in addition to the excellent series reported yesterday; for I think the series will be incomplete unless these two are added;

Resolved, That we call upon Congress promptly to declare null and void the so-called State organizations instituted by executive usurpation in the territories of the rebellion, and to provide at once for loyal, legitimate and impartial territorial governments, to be continued until such time as Republican State governments, without distinction of color or race, may become possible.

Resolved, That we demand of Congress that it enact, without further delay, impartial suffrage for the colored people of the District of Columbia.

I believe this is your twenty-ninth Anniversary meeting. You have before held important meetings. There has never been, of the entire series, an unimportant one. Yet, though slavery is technically, legally abolished, I think there never yet has been held an annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, under more important circumstances than those which attend the meeting of this year. I rejoiced last evening, as did you, in that immense gathering which was assembled at the Academy of Music, at the Anniversary meeting of the Pennsylvania branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission. It was a glorious sight, and gratifying to every laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause, to behold the multitudes there assembled to provide for the education, and the development, and the elevation of the millions hitherto enslaved. I would say not a single word to detract from the merits of that enterprise, which is not distinctly of this Society, yet one of the legitimate fruits of the labors of this Society in the years gone by. In the brief period allotted me this morning, allow me to suggest that the essential characteristics which have made you as a distinct people—I address the Radical Abolitionists of this Society in this remark—which have made you peculiarly useful to this nation in years past, are left for you—for you and no one else—to maintain and to discharge. You bear witness that on the occasion of last evening, as on similar occasions elsewhere through the country, while in general terms the franchise is demanded, and in some instances very particular terms, as by the Rev. Mr. Brooks, and Judge Bond, last evening—yet the still ungrateful and unpopular demand in behalf of the outcast, the betrayed, the downtrodden, the still essentially enslaved colored race of this nation, it remains to-day as hitherto, for the out-and-out fanatical and radical Abolitionists to assert. Look at our constituents at the present hour. In all the Southern country they have no right guaranteed by which they can protect themselves. And by whom, let me ask you, have these people been knowingly betrayed? We ask for, and demand, and expect to achieve the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. He has not only proved himself a traitor to the black race, a Moses leading them back again into Egypt rather than delivering them from bondage, he has not only betrayed our clients, the blacks, but he has betrayed us, the nation at large, and has become the champion and the leader of the rebels; and such men as Gen. Butler, Gen. Logan, Hon. Mr. Bingham, your honored son, Thaddeus Stevens, Judge Kelley, among the best men of our nation, are to-day girding themselves for his impeachment. It is a thing which will be accomplished, if the demand for it is properly put forth.

But I want to dwell, not upon this point but upon another, which is left for the Abolitionists and none others to call attention to. It is an unpopular duty which others will not perform. I hold primarily responsible at this hour for the condition of the colored race of this nation, this Thirty-ninth Congress, and especially the Republican party in that Congress. Had we had statesmanship of the right sort; had we had that key-note of principle which has ever characterized the movement which this Anniversary represents, we should have been to-day in a very different attitude from that which we occupy before the nations of the world. We were betrayed first by the President; second, by Congress itself. As I said at the commencement of my remarks, we meet at this time under circumstances of peculiar responsibility, our election has just been held, in which there has been full discussion. By the people the President has been emphatically repudiated. Congress has been delegated anew to assume jurisdiction over this entire question, which it asserted as its right, but in regard to which it failed to perform its duty at the last session.

We need, therefore, at this time, just before the meeting of Congress, to send forth the demand of the conscience of the nation, represented by the Anti-Slavery enterprise, distinctly as in years gone by, that Congress upon assembling, shall first impeach the President and give us a loyal man in his place, and then, having cleared the pathway, that it shall declare, in the language of this resolution, that the so-called State governments instituted by our traitor-president are not State governments, but merely associations of rebels banded together, still impenitent, to cheat the loyal whites and the loyal blacks out of their rightful inheritance—the Southern State governments of the future. We demand this action of Congress, because, unless it takes this position, we are inevitably sold out, to go through another bloody ordeal of rebellion a few years later.

Having repudiated these organizations, we demand of Congress, without further delay, to act on the suggestion which was made at the last session, and organize these territories which are without any legitimate government into territorial governments, and to keep them in the territorial condition, under the jurisdiction of Congress and subject to its control, until abundant evidence is given that there is loyalty and intelligence enough to make Republican governments in that region possible, and that therefore they are in a proper condition for readmission into the Union.

[The ten minutes allowed under the order having expired, on motion, Mr. Powell was invited to continue his remarks.]

Mr. POWELL resumed—These things we demand. I say "we," because, in these few words I am speaking particularly to the Abolitionists. Let us remember the power which has attended our efforts hitherto, and been blessed so abundantly. Rev. Philip Brooks last evening, as reported in the press this morning, expressed the opinion that there is less cordial interest in the welfare of the black man in Philadelphia to-day than a year ago; and he appealed to the audience to make Christian Radicalism the interest of their lives, so that they might exert a wholesome influence tending to the elevation of the downcast and the oppressed. That Christian Radicalism to which this minister alludes, is the "Infidel" Abolitionism represented by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. It was too much to expect of him, that he would say as much to that audience. I am glad he said what he did to stimulate that audience in thought to go down deeper than the even surface of political agitation, and to ground their lives and efforts upon moral principle. But bear witness that it is the absence of that Christian Radicalism, or "Infidel" Abolitionism, as it has been called in former years, that has made slavery possible in this nation for the last three-quarters of a century. It is the absence of that Christian Radicalism that makes it possible for Philadelphia to outrage her worthy and deserving colored citizens by turning them from the street cars. It is the absence of that Christian Radicalism that makes it possible for designing or mistaken politicians, in the hour of glorious opportunity, to mislead the nation and cheat it of its proper destination. For, if the leading representative men of the nation had only had faith in principles and in the people, we might have been spared the period of uncertainty in which we find ourselves to-day. If there were more faith in this sort of Radicalism, we could go forward and speedily consummate that which perhaps, in the absence of it, it will take another generation to complete. Let me exhort you, then, those of you who have been interested in the Anti-Slavery Society in former times, to bear in mind that it is its moral quality which distinguishes it peculiarly from other organizations in this country professing to seek the interest and the welfare of the colored people.

Chief-Justice Chase made some very good remarks last evening; but where we might have expected the appearance of Hamlet, Hamlet was essentially left out. Chief-Justice Chase is a noble-hearted man, who wishes well to the negro, and has done much to promote his interests; but when he, as we are told on good authority, consents to allow himself to hold a conference with the besotted traitor who disgraces the Presidential chair to-day, with a view to patch up again a compromise which shall cheat the negro and the nation, and permit an unrighteous settlement at the beginning of the next session of Congress, Chief-Justice Chase repeats the error of politicians in years gone by; and he must needs preside at very many Freedmen's meetings and do many other things, to counterbalance the evil it achieves against our cause for him to come into such relations with a man who has forfeited the respect and the confidence alike of the blacks and of the whites of the nation.

My friends, we cannot trust this cause yet to the Chases or to the Greeleys. The New York *Tribune* is an earnest, valuable journal in this country. It is of great service to the cause of freedom in many directions. Yet the New York *Tribune*, in these days, is repeating precisely what it has so often done before. Just at the eleventh hour, when, by its steadfast support, it could lift up the demand of the people and push forward the representatives of the people to the right sort of action, it timidly throws itself across the pathway, and gives its influence against impeachment. And if we are disgraced and endangered by allowing Andrew Johnson, in the Presidential chair, to swing round the circle for the next two years, the blame will rest more upon the head of Horace Greeley than of any other man in the nation. The *Tribune* draws well until it gets to just the pinch of the hill, and then it slackens in the traces, forfeits leadership, and leaves the load upon the shoulders of the people as we go up the steep grade.

You have in your own city a journal which speaks nobly and faithfully for freedom, in very many respects. It is among my exchanges, and I turn to it with as much interest as to any that comes to my table. I refer to Forney's *Press*. Before the Congressional plan of reconstruction was suggested last Summer, it was one of the most efficient Anti-Slavery journals in the country. But I noticed that when the Congressional plan, as it was called, these amendments which Mr. Phillips justly styled the swindling amendments, were initiated, directly, in Forney's *Press*, as in the radical Republican papers generally, there was a notable absence of appeal and demand for justice on behalf of the negro; and though its tone is reviving and better again, still all these journals, representing, as they do, political interests, are apt, in the trial hour, to betray the cause which they think the public opinion of the country will not sustain them in unqualifiedly advocating. I believe Mr. Forney and Mr. Greeley are earnestly desirous of the triumph of impartial suffrage; but when they consent, just before election, and in such an emergency as we were in a few months ago, to leave that demand out of their political articles, they become blind guides of the people, and dishearten and discourage those in whose interest they are glad to be considered as laboring.

We are not, however, without great encouragements. In Massachusetts—God bless that old Commonwealth for the services she has rendered to the nation (applause)—there occurred, in connection with this last election, an event which marks a new epoch in the history of this nation. In the election of Mitchell and Walker, colored men, to seats in the Massachusetts Legislature, the future historian will note the practical beginning of the elevation of the colored man in this country to the plane of political equality. The Republicans of Boston and Charlestown, by whom they were elected, rendered the very best possible service in their power to our cause and the cause of the black man in this country. I wish to-day that, in the important Senatorial canvass which is pending in your State, passing by the honored name of Thaddeus Stevens, passing by the name of Judge Kelley, passing by the name of Gov. Curtin, passing by the name of Col. Forney, the leading candidates mentioned in connection with the office of Senator, a distinguished representative man of your State, one who is known to be as competent as either of the gentlemen I have named, one who is known widely and favorably in this country and in Europe, one who is a gentleman, a scholar, and a man of marked ability, one whose name, although he is present, I will mention, Robert Purvis (applause), could be sent by Pennsylvania to fill that now disgraced but soon to be vacated chair occupied by your unworthy Senator Cowan. If Penusylvania were to take this step, take my word for it, it would not be long that your colored people would be seeking in vain to ride in your street cars. It would not be long that your State would be dishonored by disfranchising the blacks. It would not be long before your State would be regenerated, morally and politically, by the example of one such act as it is in your powar to make an accomplished fact, if you put your combined energies together and beseech the Legislature to represent you truly in this respect.

A gentleman who spoke here last evening said of the Republicans of Pennsylvania, as I can affirm of the Republicans generally throughout the country, if I may take the press of the country as the medium for the reflection of public opinion, that the most earnest and hearty endorsement of the people is given to the most radical Anti-Slavery utterance of the speakers. I believe that Thaddeus Stevens, I know very well that Judge Kelley, and I doubt not that Col. Forney, and I hope Gov. Curtin, if consulted, and a demand is made generally through the State for the election of the gentleman to whom I have referred—I believe that these men, one of whom would otherwise be chosen to the next Senate, would magnanimously stand aside in order to consummate this result. I [illegible] in mind between this and the meeting of [illegible] to press the claims of your distinguished Vice-President, Mr. Purvis, to a seat in the next Senate. It is your right. It is the demand of the colored race of this nation, and you can in no wise help them so efficiently, as in giving this position of trust, and honor, and confidence, of which he is eminently worthy, to your distinguished fellow-citizen. I would rather not have said this in Mr. Purvis's presence, but I could not avoid it, and say it this morning.

One word with regard to the pending Constitutional Amendment. I think the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society owes it to itself, the State, and the nation, to enter its protest at the next session of the Legislature against the adoption of the pending Amendment. Not that the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society would hinder any righteous and just reconstruction. I know that the members of that Society are anxious, not less than their fellow-citizens, to speedily consummate a right reconstruction, that our country may go on henceforth peacefully and prosperously in the right. But that Society should never consent that these Amendments be adopted without protest, because they are inherently wrong. In themselves they consign the blacks of the South back again to the political control of the masters who were lately buying and selling them. They are flagrantly unjust to the colored people of the nation. I will not stop to analyze them.

But there is another feature, that, though not strictly in order, I will speak of briefly. The tendency of the age is to the enlargement of the sphere of suffrage. John Bright, across the water, is stirring Great Britain and Ireland to extend the suffrage, and the suffrage will be extended. Suffrage is being extended elsewhere in the Old World. And shall we, at this point in our career, consent to block the pathway to the extension of suffrage—we, who believe in democracy, pure and simple, and universal? Pennsylvania has for its chief honored name in history, that of William Penn, the distinguished Quaker founder of the government. It has another name which the future historian will recognize as second only to that of Penn, representing the moral worth, the intelligence, the wisdom of Pennsylvania. It is the honored name, still of a Quaker, but this time of a woman. Looking back through the last quarter of a century, no citizen of your State has done as much to indoctrinate with the idea of justice, to counsel by words of eminent wisdom, to lift and to lead your people to a higher level of civilization, as the venerable and beloved Lucretia Mott. (Applause.) Yet if you consent to the ratification of the infamous swindling Amendments, proposed as a makeshift and a trick, by unworthy scheming politicians who claim to be Republicans and statesmen, your chief historic name is cut off from the opportunity, if desired, of a voice and a position in the councils of the nation. I oppose it, on this ground, with my protest, knowing that the subject is not strictly one of the special objects of this Society; but I could not allow it to pass without a single word.

One word more, my friends. I think your Society should adopt some simple form of petition, which may be signed by members of this Society and circulated generally through the State, asking, first, for the impeachment of the President. There ought to be tens and hundreds of thousands of petitions sent forward, not as long as that which was read here yesterday, but embodying the substance of it; and they ought to be poured into Washington soon after the opening of the next session.

There should be another petition that these "State organisations," which are not State organizations, but are simple rebel usurpations, shall be at once declared null and void; that the public mind may be relieved of the confusion which is occasioned by talking of "rebel States," and "States that were in rebellion." These are no States yet. Then there should be a petition asking for the organization of territorial governments, and that they be continued under the jurisdiction of Congress until there is evidence given of their adoption of Republican loyal State governments suitable for readmission.

I suggest these things as practical work still remaining, and very important for you to attend to. If you will do what in you lies, as Mr. Brooks said, if you will do your duty in your way here, you may not know perhaps how great the results will be that come of it. I think in these latter times, with slavery legally abolished, a great many excellent people who have been interested hitherto in the prosecution of the anti-slavery enterprise, in their gratitude for what has been achieved, allow themselves to forget the still pressing necessities of the hour. To such I would say, Do not lay aside your armor yet. Make one more earnest, uncompromising effort for the complete and entire enfranchisement of the blacks, and see that they are actually enfranchised and well started. Then you can properly consider your work done, and not till then.

Mr. DAVIS referred to the radical statements of Judge Bond in favor of negro suffrage, as a necessity in Maryland, where, under the pretence of binding them out as apprentices, the children were re-enslaved. He referred also to the statement of Henry Vincent, who, being asked what effect the universal suffrage agitation here had upon suffrage extension in England, replied, "Go on; it is needed; we can scarcely carry our own reform, if you do not succeed."

Mr. PETERSON said that he had been misrepresented in the daily papers in the positions he had taken last evening, and restated his positions at some length. He then proceeded to say,

This whole matter of suffrage is considered to-day in a very superficial aspect. For instance, we now have arguments in favor of suffrage, which, if true, would take in every living soul in the United States and in the world. Everybody should exercise the right of suffrage. If this principle is correct, not only all men, but all women, and all children should vote. It is said that governments exist by the consent of the governed; therefore negroes should vote; therefore women should vote; therefore children should vote. But suppose an extreme county in the State of Texas, lying upon the border of Mexico, declares to you by a unanimous vote, that they do not consent to this government any more, but wish to leave the United States and join Mexico. Or suppose the State of Texas, comes to you by the voice of the majority, including everybody in the State, white and black, men, women and children, and says she will no longer consent to your government.

The ten minutes allowed under the rule here expired.

A GENTLEMAN inquired: Did you ever hear anybody advocate the right of children to vote?

Mr. PETERSON—I stated that the principle relied upon for the extension of the suffrage, would give children the right to vote.

Remarks of Miss Anthony.

Miss SUSAN B. ANTHONY said—*Mr. President and Friends:* Upon this question of impartial suffrage which is the grand "glittering generality" of this hour, I have but one word to say. I entirely object to the present aristocracy assuming to prescribe any new qualifications for suffrage. The white male citizens of the country to-day, when they have awarded the right to vote to every one of themselves, ignorant or wise, poor or rich, drunk or sober, to undertake to impose new qualifications of intelligence and property, when women and negro men ask for the right to vote, I consider as adding insult to injury. (Applause.) All this talk about new qualifications sounds very much like the old twaddle of colonization and gradual emancipation. It comes of unwillingness to see colored men and all women possessed of equal right to the ballot.

At the close of the revolution our fathers established only so much of their Republican principles as they could, and form a Union that should enable them to resist a foreign foe. They secured representation only to white men. The thought of woman's taking part in the government seemed never to have occurred to them. But you remember that when John Adams returned home from the Convention of 1787, his wife, the noble Mary Adams, said to him: "Husband, it seems to me you men entirely forgot the women when you were discussing and applying the great principles of 'no taxation without representation.'" (Applause.) Thus you see there was one woman's rights woman so long ago as the Revolution. The one blunder of our Revolutionary fathers was that in their desire to be united, so as to secure the nation against invasion by foreign foes, they compromised, instead of establishing the whole of justice. We have seen the result in another bloody war; and at its close we stand to-day again, face to face, with the great question of Republicanism, precisely as our fathers did at the close of the Revolution. The work of this hour is not to establish only so much of the Republican idea as may save us from another rebellion; it is to [illegible] supreme republican form of government.

[illegible] day afternoon that the result we should demand [illegible] of this war was the equality of races. I [illegible] we should demand the equality of individuals, and nothing short of it. What to the slave woman upon the plantation is equality of races? Remember that in slavery the black woman has known nothing of the servitude of the marriage laws of the Northern States. She has lived so far in freedom. Whatever money her white master would allow her to earn was her money. It did not belong to the black man who was nominally her husband. She had the entire control of her own property, so far as her husband was concerned. But under the new dispensation, with legal marriage established among the black race as among the white race, it subjects the black woman to all the servitude and dependence which the white woman has hitherto suffered in the North. But what kind of a master do you give her? Not one educated to the sense of woman's equality that we have here, but one whose only idea of having any right of control over another person is that which has been taught to him by his master, which is the tyranny of the lash. Those men, suddenly raised to power, in all their ignorance, will become, as husbands, the greatest tyrants the world has yet seen. We have no right to forget that the right of every individual to equality and independence is equal to the right of any other individual. The black woman has the same right with the white woman or the white man. I know that when this Society was formed, twenty-nine years ago, for the express purpose of looking after the emancipation of the negro, you did not think of suffrage for the black man.

Mr. BACON—Yes, we did then.

Miss ANTHONY—Some did, and some did not. I know that when the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed, they did not demand suffrage for the blacks as any part of their aim or object. But another quotation is, that new occasions bring new duties. We are in a new position to-day; and it is not our duty to look back and see what was thought to be our duty when our Society was formed, but to look forward and to do the duty of the present hour. If the Society made its platform thirty years ago, and if it stands in the way of the particular duty of this hour, let that constitution be broken. We always preached that if the Constitution of the United States guaranteed slavery, we would violate the Constitution. Then let those who are the leaders of the public sentiment of the nation, if they find the platform of the Society too narrow for their duties to-day, break the platform or extend it

On motion of Miss GREW, the ten minutes having expired, the speaker was allowed ten minutes more.

Miss ANTHONY resumed—Judge Bond is stated to have said last night that he was opposed to impartial suffrage, that is, to the intelligence qualification, because it would not give us votes enough to carry the State of Maryland, and save the Republican party. I do not like that idea. We do not demand the ballot for the negroes in order to save the Republican party, or the nation even, but to give each human being his inalienable right as a man. And when we claim this for the black man on the Southern plantation, we must claim as much for the black women on the plantation. Nobody is respected unless he holds the ballot in his hands. If you have a poor weak member of the Senate or House of Representatives, you call him Miss Nancy, or Miss Somebody-else. If anybody act ridiculously, you say he acts like a negro or an old woman. Whenever a man is weak, or odious, or miserable in any direction, you either compare him to a woman or to a negro. The only reason you dare do it,

Miscellaneous Department.

TO MASSACHUSETTS.

BY THOMAS BUCHANAN READ.

The great Cyclopian day—
The bright sun blazing on its forward brow,
The Argus eye, with all her starry eyes—
For many eras gazed athwart the globe,
Looking for Liberty, and found it not,
Until a little barque across the seas,
Named for a flower and guided by a star—
The steady star of Freedom in the North—
Rode to the West, and all the snowy realm
Lay symbol of the Pilgrims' great intent
And spotless purity. A granite rock
Furnished their footing—solid emblem fit—
Prefiguring the mighty corner-stone
Of God's last, best cathedral, Human Right.
These cavaliers, with Bibles for their shields,
And swords of might inscribed with words of truth,
Battled the wall of wilderness, and made
A gateway for the light. There still it shines
To gild a continent—illume a world.
From out such glorious seed what else could spring
Than Massachusetts as she stands to-day?
She knows no caste, but honors all things good;
The Esquimaux may doff his Norland furs
And sit beside her hearth-stone, and the man
Masked by the sun may throw his fetters by
And unrebuked take place among his fellows,
And thus assert that mind is colorless.
And when he goes within the council hall,
There is no need that he should rise and say
The first blood shed upon our nation's soil
For Liberty was blood of Africa.
The star is on thy forehead, noble State!
There let it shine, the cynosure to all
The mariners on Time's tumultuous sea
Who set their sails for Freedom and the Truth.

MARTYRED.

THE MURDER OF REV. J. W. HORTON—AN INCIDENT OF THE NEW ORLEANS MASSACRE.

"Good-by, Emma," he said. "I shall not be gone long. It can't take more than ten minutes to open the Convention, and then I shall come right away. Look for me at 3 o'clock at farthest," and the young pastor kissed his wife and hurried away to the city.

That day was destined to be one among the most memorable in the annals of human wickedness since the famous St. Bartholomew's. The members of the Union Convention had looked forward to it with apprehension. They knew that the spirit of the late rebellion still survived in New Orleans, and they could not hope that they should be permitted to assemble without some molestation from disorderly individuals, but they had no suspicion that the masses of the city would rise against them, *organized* for deliberate bloodshed. They did not know that all the arms had been bought up till the gun-shops contained not so much as a pocket pistol. They did not know that the Mayor had telegraphed to the President that there would certainly be a riot, and received the assurance that the military would not interfere with the civil power. They did not know that the police force had been increased by the addition of a gang of blood-thirsty men, and that the municipal authorities had agreed upon signals, and arranged to begin the riot themselves. Watched by no suspicion, and awed by no Butler's strong right hand, the conspirators were suffered to perfect their preparations, and when the morning of July 30 dawned, the treacherous officials appeared at the station-houses full-armed, and waiting the opportunity for their bloody work.

The pastor of the Coliseum Baptist Church, Rev. Jotham W. Horton, had been requested to open the Convention with prayer. Moved by the warmest Christian sympathy for the freedmen, this young New England minister had gone to the South with his wife, to give his best energies to their welfare. He was a man of sincere piety and a large heart; pure as a little child, self-denying where duty was concerned to an extent that often made him suffer, and so peaceable that though repeatedly insulted and even once fired upon, and though conscious that he was fatally marked by malignant disloyalists, he would never go armed.

After taking leave of his wife, Mr. Horton proceeded in the cars, from his residence in Carrollton, to the city. Ever apt to look hopefully on the worst prospects, and slow to suspect evil of his fellow-men, he had felt no fears of injury for this day, beyond perhaps a forcible seizure and commitment to the parish prison.

The hour arrived for opening the Convention, and Mr. Horton, having entered the hall, stood up to offer prayer just as the clock struck 12. Strongly and fervently his words came up, breathing petitions for the peace of his country and the deliverance of the oppressed. God heard him, but with that prayer His servant's work ended, and then He gave him for a little while to the cruel wrath of his enemies, that He might make that wrath praise Him. Immediately on the sounding of the stroke of noon from the city clocks, and simultaneously with the opening of Mr. Horton's prayer, the armed police filed out of the different stations, 300 strong, and marched towards the Institute. Some of them entered the hall during the prayer, a mob in the meantime rapidly collecting round the door, and hardly had the good man uttered the closing "amen," when a miscreant fired a bullet at his head.

There could no longer be any doubt of the intentions of the officers and the mob. The latter assailed the windows and rushed in at the doors. "Kill him! Kill him!" they yelled. "Shoot every cursed Yankee in the house!" Just then all the city bells began to toll. It was the preconcerted signal of slaughter, and now the horrors of the day began.

The disloyalist ruffians rushed in with pistols, knives and clubs, and commenced their appointed work of murder. Resistance was hopeless. The Convention broke up in the wildest confusion, some of its members falling dead, and many mortally wounded, in the hall, while a few who could, fled. The Union men saw that they were doomed. Instead of protecting them and arresting the rioters at the firing of the first shot, as with their force they could easily have done, the police headed the attack, and there is reason to believe that one of their number fired the first shot.

Mr. Horton received five balls in his body and fell. These balls were fired by policemen. Not satisfied with their work, they seized him, kicked and dragged him over the pavement to the first station, the mob following behind, cursing, beating, and trampling him with their shoes. Thrusting him in a cell, he was left, mangled and senseless.

Meantime the shop-keepers of the city had closed their stores, and strolled about, gratified spectators of the fiendish carnival, greeting the murderers of Horton and every squad of policemen that passed them dragging a bleeding loyalist with shouts of "Good! good! Kill the white nigger."

Around the Mechanics' Institute and in the adjacent streets upward of 100 negroes lay weltering in their blood, and the dead-carts drove by, loaded with warm corpses and bodies of the wounded still writhing with life, all tumbled indiscriminately together.

In one of these carts the mangled Horton was flung, after lying awhile at the station-house, and under a stifling load of dead and wounded negroes, his stomach crushed in by a blow from a heavy plank. He was taken to the Marine Hospital.

Furious with the taste of blood, the police and their fellow thugs raged up and down some of the streets of the city, calling out the names of well-known loyalists, declaring their intention to slaughter every loyal man in New Orleans. In the midst of the excitement and carnage, however, the bayonets of Federal troops appeared, and further murder was prevented. The mob dispersed, and the blood-stained streets, and battered windows, and muffled groans from distant hospital wards alone testified to the horrors of the 30th of July.

As the hours of that bloody day passed, the wife of Mr. Horton waited at her home, five miles distant, for his return. Three o'clock came, the limit he had set for his absence. She looked long and anxiously to catch a glimpse of him approaching along the familiar street. He did not come, and her anxiety grew into alarm. To add to her terror, a breathless messenger arrived at her residence, and warned her that she would not be safe there that night, for trouble had happened at the State House, and the secessionists were searching for all the Unionists in the city and suburbs. Hastily summoning the negro servant, she told her to bar the doors and windows, and, with a few hurried preparations, then set off for the city to learn the fate of her husband.

Having formerly boarded with a Mrs. E——, she took her way first to her house, and made known her anxious errand. She was told of the riot and massacre, and at once feared the worst. Several young men who boarded at the house volunteered to search for Mr. Horton. They returned late in the evening, but could give her no news save that he had been badly wounded. They dared not communicate their own convictions of his fate.

Only the darkness of the dangerous streets and the restraint of friends prevented the almost distracted woman from going forth that night to continue the search herself. As it was, the night brought no sleep to her eyes, and soon as it was morning she started on her sad errand.

Information had been received through the city papers that Gen. Baird, the military commandant, had released all who had been arrested and confined by the police, giving the name of her husband among the rest, and stating that he had returned home. Acting on this representation, she went alone to Carrolton, but only to return by the next train. He was not there. Without waiting for breakfast she set off for Gen. Baird's headquarters; a young Methodist clergyman, Mr. Henry, one of Mrs. E.'s boarders, insisting on being her company.

No sooner did Gen. Baird see Mrs. Horton and know who she was, than he expressed much surprise that her husband had not been seen, and told her he had ordered his release. Perhaps she would find him at the City Hall. To this place she immediately went, but she searched in vain. He had not been there. She then hurried to the First Police Station, determined to wring from the brutal officers a confession of what they had done with her husband. Entering the office, she forced her way within the rails, and asked the clerk what had been done with her husband? The man declared that "preacher Horton" had been sent by him to the Charity Hospital, and she at once hurried thither. Again she was disappointed. He had not been seen there! The truth was, the cart which carried Mr. Horton's body had stopped there, and been sent away, and it appeared to be occupied only by blacks. The horrible idea now suggested itself to the afflicted woman that her husband had been conveyed away with a load of dead bodies, and had been buried alive; but, as a last resort, she determined to visit the Marine Hospital. This was in a low and distant part of the city, and devoted entirely to negroes, and she could not have believed he would be carried there by his worst enemies; but at a friend's suggestion she sought the place, still accompanied by Mr. Henry.

Arrived at the gate, she was refused entrance; but catching a glimpse of Dr. Harris, the head surgeon, whom she knew, she called to him, and asked if her husband was there. Dr. Harris could give her no positive assurance, but immediately ordered the servant to admit her. Forgetting her weariness in her joy that her long quest had at last succeeded, the faithful woman had bounded up the steps, and without waiting to be directed, rushed in among the patients, found out her husband, and sank exhausted upon his bosom. What a spectacle! The form she loved, a bruised and helpless mass of flesh and blood, his head swollen to the size of two, his left arm useless, and his right shattered and mangled. He moved perpetually about with the restless, nervous gestures of a dreaming infant. So badly trampled and beaten was his head and face that his eyes were blinded, and a painful retching, produced by the injuries to his stomach, obstructing his breath and speech. But through all the anguish and darkness of his wreck he knew his wife. That she should have recognized him is a miracle to all who do not understand the inspired sagacity of a wife's affection.

"Wipe my face, Emma," he gasped, as if she had been bending over him ever since he fell.

Worn and broken-hearted, the poor woman sat down by her husband's side, and tried to strengthen herself for the task of soothing and comforting his last hours—for she knew too well that he could not live. Nineteen long hours she had searched for him, and now to find him thus!

Few comforts could be found in that hospital, though the attendants, seeing her distress, evidently meant to treat her kindly. Up to this time the wounded man had lain in the warden's room; but on the next morning, which was Wednesday, he was removed to a more airy apartment. The operation of trepanning was then performed on his head, though with little hope of permanent benefit. When this was over, and the burden upon the brain was thus relieved, the sufferer looked up and repeated:

"When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the skies,
I'll bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes."

Here weakness prevented him, and he whispered to his wife, "You finish it."

He slept a good deal, but seemed always conscious of his wife's presence, frequently putting up *his restless hand to touch* her face, and remind himself, in his blindness, of her loved features. When he talked, it was of his unfinished work, his convictions of the justice of the cause in which he fell, his anxieties for his wife left alone in a cruel world, and of his enemies and murderers, always forgivingly, as if they knew not what they did. At different times, too, he spoke of the riot, relating facts and incidents as I have set them down.

It afflicted him much to leave his wife penniless. He had a little money in his pocket when he came to the Convention; but that, with the gold studs on his bosom, had been plundered by some of the ruffians who took part in mutilating his person.

Thus he lingered until the sixth day after his injury. When the morning of Sunday, August 5, came, he remembered that he had an appointment to exchange pulpits with a colored brother in the city, and said:

"Emma, we must send word to brother Miles that I can't come. I don't feel quite well enough to preach."

As time went on his mind began to wander, and he fancied himself in his own pulpit. He invoked the Divine blessing, he gave out a hymn and sang, wounded and suffering as he was; his wife, who wept as she thought of the melody of his fine voice, joining him at his request, half choked by her tears. Then he prayed with her, sang again, and preached, taking for his text, "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." After these exercises he expressed his wish to close with the Lord's Supper, and immediately began the beautiful ceremony. His wife, anxious to gratify him, skilfully aided, with such meagre conveniences as were at hand, to carry out his touching fancy. He partook with her of what seemed to him the symbolic bread and wine. "We both drink from the same cup, Emma," said he. Another hymn, a benediction, and the sufferer began to grow weak, as if, indeed, his work was done.

"I am going now, Emma," he whispered. "I'm sorry you can't come with me. In the Fall you'll come."

Then there were no more connected sentences, but incoherent syllables of prayer, and whispers of saintly hope. "In the vale—the vale—home yonder—good-by," and at 6 o'clock that Sabbath evening the gentle-spirited Horton fell asleep in Jesus.

Thus perished a martyr to freedom and equal rights, as sincere and pure a man as God ever welcomed "through great tribulation" to the immortal pleasures of his presence.

To the tender consideration of her friends, never so numerous as now, and to the merciful consolation of Almighty God, who never pitied her as he now pities her, we commend the weeping widow, and pray that she may long live to share the honor of her martyred husband's fame.—*Watchman and Reflector.*

SOCIETY IN CHILI.

A writer in *Macmillan's Magazine* gives the following account of society in Chili—a country which is now attracting an unusual share of attention:

Education is making progress in Chili under the fostering care of an enlightened government. The population of the country is about 1,500,000, and the attendance at all schools, public and private, is about 50,000. A much larger number of persons can read, however, than one would imagine from these figures. We presume the average period of attendance at school is very short, which makes the quantum of education, such as it is, suffice for a much larger number of inhabitants than it ought to do. It is noteworthy that the Roman Catholic clergy do almost nothing in the way of promoting educational efforts. Indeed, where there is the faintest odor of heresy about the educational exertions of foreigners, a note of warning is instantly and loudly sounded by the church; but as, in the English and German academies in the larger towns, a better education is provided than can be obtained elsewhere, these warnings are not greatly heeded by intelligent parents.

The better class in Chili are tolerably well educated. In Santiago there is a respectable university, an institute or high school, and a theological seminary—the last being in the hands of the Jesuits or Ultramontanes, and designed to prepare a priesthood for the service of the national church. It is but poorly attended, and throughout the country the altar is in a great measure served by Spanish, French, Italian, and Irish priests. The university is chiefly devoted to the study of law and medicine. A high classical or mathematical curriculum is not insisted on, nor, we apprehend, is it obtainable. The rector of the University, is Don Andros Bello, a fine old man, now nearly ninety years of age, a scholar of some eminence, a poet, and once an able diplomatist. Venezuelian by birth, he followed his celebrated countryman Bolivar, and, during the wars of the Independence, was resident in Europe as secretary to the representatives of some of the rebellious provinces, then embryo republics. He has lived to see the honorable labors of his ardent youth largely repaid in the advancing civilization of the majority of the South American States. "Bello's Commentary on Public Law" is known and appreciated wherever the Spanish language is spoken. His Latin Grammar is also an admirable text-book.

Amongst the women of Chili, education is not so well attended to, nor so widely disseminated as amongst the men. In the art of writing, the fair sex is particularly deficient, the epistles of a Chilian lady as compared with the notes of an accomplished English woman, being like the productions of a country servant girl. There is, however, no lack of polish and refinement of manners amongst the better families in the Chilian capitol. Music is very generally studied, and many of the young ladies render the operas of Verdi and Bellini with a power and skill rarely found in non-professional circles.

The Chilians are frank, accessible, courteous and hospitable. The unaffected kindness which one meets with, especially at their estates or *haciendas*, makes a lasting and most favorable impression. In the cities there is, perhaps, less outward expression of hospitality. A foreigner is very rarely invited to dine, and is seldom asked to stay at his friend's house in the city—but in the country it is entirely different. Everything is there placed at the guest's disposal, and his comfort is studied in every possible way—all with the most hearty and sincere good will.

In the cities the evening is devoted to visiting. Unless one is on terms of very great intimacy, a visit during the day is as unacceptable as it would be unlooked for. The evening *tertulia*, with its pleasant gossip, is an agreeable recreation. The round tea-table is an institution in Chili, and English folks on visiting terms at native houses are not reduced to syrups or *eau sucré*.

ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LATE LOYAL SOUTHERNERS' CONVENTION.

[The following lyric, the production of our correspondent, R. W. Hume, who writes over the signature "John," we copy, from *Harper's Weekly*:]

What though the loud, fierce storm-wind howls?
What though the night be dark?
What though the lowering tempest growls
Above the wave-tossed bark?
What though New Orleans' whirlwind blast
And Memphis' iron hail
Again, unchecked, war round your homes,
There's no such word as fail!

For bright upon our Northern plains
There stands a glittering band,
Which late hath passed fair Freedom's torch
Alight from hand to hand.
Before its gladsome, cheerful blaze
The scowling storm shall pale;
So courage, friends! Bear nobly on;
There's no such word as fail!

The time is passed when slavery dire
Our erring people led;
The Copperheads are seared with fire,
The Doughfaces are dead.
A few woe-worn and trembling ghosts
At truth and justice rail;
But soon they'll vanish with their hosts—
There's no such word as fail!

No tyrant's will can curb the bold,
Free spirit of our land;
His chain will break who seeks to bind,
His sword fall from his hand.
Our Israel, of the Lord beloved,
Shall o'er her foes prevail;
So bravely tread your gloomy path—
There's no such word as fail!

The time is past when lips were sealed
From uttering words of truth;
Baptized in blood, our Union dear
Again renews its youth.
Like a young giant, for the fight
All armed in plate and mail,
Young Liberty essays his might—
There's no such word as fail!

From Ellsworth's blood to Dostie's true
We've counted every drop;
The sacrifice is nearly through,
And soon the plague will stop.
Our prayers and tears, our sin and shame
To purge, will soon avail;
Then, crowned with victory, we'll know
There's no such word as fail!

Sketch of a French Bishop.—The Paris *Figaro* gives the following sketch of the laborious existence of the Bishop of Orleans: "Mgr. Dupanloup's enlightened love of letters is well known. He defends and cultivates that study, and no one more keenly enjoys its charm. He knows nearly the whole of Virgil and Horace by heart, and frequently in conversation he makes felicitous quotations from these authors. His memory is so prodigious that he distinguishes clearly in its place, as an inward library, every detail of his extensive knowledge; and in dictating to his secretaries he refers them without hesitation to such a page of Fenelon, or such a line of the Æneid. He is not less precise in matters connected with his apostolate; names, circumstances, dates, all are in order in that immense storehouse of the brain, whence he draws with perfect certainty. His activity is indefatigable. A painter, to whom he sat for his likeness, was asked: 'Why have you not placed him in an arm-chair, such as bishops usually occupy?' 'Mgr. Dupanloup seated! Nobody would recognize him!'

"Up at 5 every morning during the year, he works without relaxation until mid-day, and after a short promenade and giving a few audiences, he resumes harness until 7 o'clock. While walking he makes rapid pencil notes of fugitive ideas and heads of sermons; during his drives he is similarly occupied. When he travels by rail, he has, as constant companion, a large portfolio of green morocco, stuffed with papers—the real one that belonged to Talleyrand—and he revises manuscripts and corrects proofs. His correspondence is as extensive as that of a minister of state, and he sends no fewer than 6,000 letters a year. There is only one moment of the day that does not find him at work; it is that succeeding the evening's repast. He is obliged to condemn himself to that period of repose and to forego writing and reading at night, in order not to injure his eyes, which have been already severely tried during the day.

Franklin as a Bookseller.—The following story, told of Franklin's mode of treating the animal called in those days "lounger," and in these "loafer," is worth putting into practice occasionally, even in this age and generation:

One fine Summer morning, when Franklin was busy preparing his newspaper for the press, a lounger stepped into the store and spent an hour or more in looking over the books, etc., and finally taking one in his hand, asked the shop-boy its price.

"One dollar," was the answer.

"One dollar!" said the lounger, "can't you take less than that?"

"No, indeed—one dollar is the price."

Another hour nearly passed, when the lounger said—

"Is Mr. Franklin at home?"

"Yes, he is in the printing office."

"I want to see him," said the lounger.

The shop-boy then immediately informed Mr. Franklin that a gentleman was waiting to see him. Franklin was soon behind the counter, when the lounger, with book in hand, addressed him thus:

"Mr. Franklin, what is the lowest you can take for this book?"

"One dollar and a quarter," was the quick answer.

"One dollar and a quarter! Why, your young man asked me only a dollar."

"True," said Franklin, "and I could have better afforded to have taken a dollar then, than to have been taken out of the office."

The lounger seemed surprised, and, wishing to end the parley of his own making, said—

"Come, Mr. Franklin, tell me what is the lowest you can take for it?"

"One dollar and a half."

"A dollar and a half! Why, you offered it yourself for a dollar and a quarter."

"Yes," answered Franklin, "and I had better have taken that price then than a dollar and a half now.

The lounger paid down the money, and went about his business—if he had any—and Franklin returned into the printing office.

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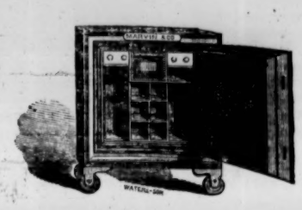

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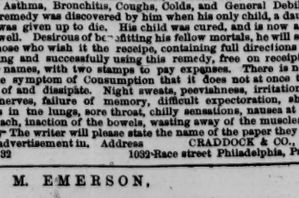

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